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THE

LIFE AND EXPLOITS

OF

SHIVAJI.

Translated into English from an unpublished Maráthi Manuscript

BY

JAGANNATH LAKSHUMAN MANKAR.

FOR SOME TIME JUNIOR WEST SCHOLAR,
ELPHINSTONE COLLEGE, BOMBAY.
NOW
DEPUTY ACCOUNTANT, KOLABA COLLECTOR'S OFFICE.

ALIBAG.

Printed at the "Hitságar" Press.

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INTRODUCTION

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The following epistle containing the history of Shivàji was written at Tanjore by Krishnàji Anant a Sabhàsad at the court of Shivàji's second son Rájárám. Rájàrám having expressed a desire to learn as much as he could of his illustrious sire's achievements, his history and whatever he did from the time that he was a boy entrusted the task to Krishnàji who accordingly undertook it. How far Krishnáji has succeeded in accomplishing the work entrusted to him will best be seen by a perusal of his epistle itself. Of Krishnàji's own history nothing is known beyond the fact that some of his descendants are still to be found at Kolhápùr, but they can not furnish any information regarding their ancestor.

2. It will no doubt be seen that not a single of what may be called the exploits of Shiváji has been omitted in the narrative; but it would certainly have been more desirable had fuller particulars been given about the historian's hero's pedigree, his birth, the circumstances which led to the development of his character, and similar other information which from an historical point of view would appear indispensably necessary. The narrative sums up in merely a few words the hero's character by stating that he was not an ordinary mortal but an incarnation of the Deity. These omissions are however excusable when it is considered that the narra-

tive was written in the troublous times of Rájàràm and consequently the writer may possibly not have had that leisure and serenity of mind which are essentially requisite for chronicling from memory a detailed narration of all the events in regard to his hero. The present introduction aims at supplying these omissions, and though the attempt might appear ambitious and far above the reach of the translator's meagre abilities, still his humble efforts might only be looked upon as a task prompted by a desire to give the version of the Marathi manuscript an embodiment of as complete a history as possible of the Founder of the Maratha Empire by filling up certain gaps which it was not convenient for the narrator to fill up when he wrote his narrative, or which might have been studiously left as such under the belief that to fill them up was a mere superfluity.

3. There flourished in the times of Akber a respectable Maratha family surnamed Bhoselé. They are said to have held several Patilships and came into importance under the Ahmednagar Government. Their principal residence was at Vèrúl a village near Dowlatàbád and close to the famous caves of Ellora. Bábàji Bhoselè one of this family had two sons Màloji the elder and Withoji the younger. Máloji was married to Deepàbài the sister of Jagpálràо Naik Nimbàlkar Déshmùkh of Phultun. For many years after marriage Màloji had no children, and though he had very frequently offered prayers to the God Mahàdéva and the Goddess Shri Bhawàni of Tùljápúr his tutelary deity, of both of whom he was a pious devotee, for the fulfilment of his desires to have

an heir, they were not productive of any result. At last a renowned Musulman saint (Peer) named Shaha Shureef from Ahmednagar was engaged to offer his devotions for the birth of an heir. Shortly after, Màloji's wife gave birth to a son and in remembrance of Shaha Shureef's blessings the child was named after him as "Shaha" with the Marathi termination "ji" which denotes respect. Shahaji was born in the year 1594. In the second year Maloji's wife gave birth to a second son who was similarly named after the Musulman saint, Shureefji.

4. There was another family of the Marathas more powerful than the Bhosele family and well known in Maratha history by the name of "Jadow". This family too served under the Ahmednaggar Government. The principal Maratha Chief of this family was Jadowrao. An alliance was formed between the Bhoselé and the Jadow families by the marriage of Shahaji in 1604 with Jeejeebai the daughter of Lookhji Jadowrao. After several vicissitudes of public career, Shahaji was compelled in the year 1637 to take refuge under the Beejapúr Government. In the year 1630 however Shahaji was married with Tùkabai a lady belonging to the family of the Mohité, another Maratha family but not so important in history as either the "Bhoselè" or the "Jadow" family. By his marriage with Jeejeebai he had two sons, the elder was named Sambhaji and the younger Shivaji. By Túkabai his second wife he had one son who was named Venkaji; he had also an illegitimate son named Suntaji. Shivaji was born in the fort of Sewnéri situated about fifty miles north of Poona, in the month of May

1627. When Shahaji went to Beejàpúr, Jeejeebai accompanied him and remained with him until the celebration of Shivàji's marriage with Sàibài the daughter of Nimbálkar. After Shivaji's marriage Shaháji set out upon the Carnatic expedition and Shivaji was sent with his mother to reside at Poona. The family of Shaháji continued to live under the care of Dàdoji Konddéva a Brahmin Kárkun who was one of his most confidential men. Dàdoji built a large house for Jeejeebai's accommodation and gave his master's son that education which he considered was befitting a person in his position. It is however to be borne in mind that Shivaji was born amid the troubles of war and in his childhood was very often in danger of falling into the hands of enemies. From about his sixteenth year or perhaps earlier he began to associate with persons of lawless habits. Under these circumstances his education could hardly embrace anything more than instruction in horsemanship and in the manipulation of the various weapons used in his days in the Deccan. In both of these he acquired remarkable skill and activity and excelled most of his countrymen. The mountain valleys near Poona better known by the name of Mawals afforded ample scope for his wandering habits. His association with the Mawlees for whom he had a particular liking also contributed no less in giving that stability and firmness of character which distinguished him in all his undertakings in his after-days. With them he frequently absented himself in the Konkan, and on hunting expeditions for several days. He had thus become popular with them and had carefully observed that though they presented an ugly and clownish appearance they were hard working, intelligent and active

men so that he could rely upon them as his faithful followers; nor was he idle in his visits to the mountain valleys and to the different parts of the Ghát Màthà and the Konkan, for he had gained thorough acquaintance with the paths and defiles of that wild tract and had carefully marked the condition of the adjoining strongholds. The most ardent desire of his ambition was to get one of these into his possession. The unsettled state of the country also favored his views, but his operations were so cautiously managed as to attract little notice. These his frequent excursions did not however escape the attention of his shrewd guardian Dadoji Konddeva who endeavoured to wean his attention from them by entrusting to his own charge much of the affairs of his father's Jehagir. His attention was also engaged in the rehearsal of legendary and fabulous myths, of the exploits of the heroes of the Mahabharat and the Ramayan. The decided result of this kind of instruction was that he became superstitious and imbibed the greatest hatred to the Musulmans. His association with the Mawlees, a hardy and roving class of men taught him the useful lesson of endurance and gave him a thorough insight into the nook and corner of each valley and defile. His religious training comprised of a knowledge of the stories from the Mahábhárat, the Bhàgwat, the Rámáyan and other legendary lore which were read out to him by Dàdoji Konddéva, which sufficiently accounts for the fact that his veneration for Brahmins and kine was great. Naturally of a charitable disposition, this kind of instuction had implanted in him a strong desire to give large sums of money and other valuable presents to Brahmins and to those of his followers who by their heroic conduct and

the troubles they endured for him deserved them. There is a somewhat striking resemblance between the visitations of the Goddess Bhawani who appeared in Shiváji on every critical occasion and the consultations of Numa Pompilius with the goddess Ægiria from whom he received instructions in religion and the management of his state affairs. Shivaji's growing ambition was to crush the Mahomedan power and he was so much influenced by it that he hardly considered whether the means he resorted to, for the accomplishment of his object were of a respectable and praiseworthy character and such as could be employed by a person in his position especially after having listened with interest to the stories related to him from the Pùráns by his guardian. It may however be said in his defence that his ideas of warfare with the Mahomedans must have been encouraged by his rehearsal of the exploits of the deified heroes of by-gone days whose fame has been chronicled in song. His implicit and too superstitious reliance on the Goddess Bhawàni whom he considered his tutelary deity and whose intercession he almost looked upon as a certainty might also have contributed no less in promoting and aggravating the hatred he imbibed for the Mahomedans. He entertained the strongest belief that he was created for liberating his country from the yoke of foreigners. In addition to the religious instructions imparted to him by Dádoji, his moral training was moulded by the advice occasionally given to him by Ràmadàss who was his Gúrú or spiritual preceptor and who wielded no common influence over his actions. He was excessively fond of hearing "kathas" or religious preachings and was so much impressed by them that he became a devoted admirer of Tùkàràm and on one

occasion having relinquished his kingdom proceeded to a forest to spend his days in abstract contemplation. It was only at the request of Jeejeebai that Tùkàràm prevailed upon him to resume the management of his state affairs. When Jeshwantsing attempted to lay siege to Sinhagad and strong detachments were left at Chàkun and Joonèr, Shivaji having gone to hear a "Kathà" preached by Tùkaram in the town of Poona was so much engrossed in it that he narrowly escaped being made a prisoner by the garrison of Chakan. These anecdotes fully illustrate the nature of the impression which Tùkàràm's "Kathas" had made upon his mind.

5. The vernacular literature which had sprung up in the Deccan during the two centuries that preceded the days of Shivaji had received fresh accession from the works of the cotemporary poets Ramdáss, Tùkaràm and Wáman who flourished during his reign. If the germ of Hinduism was engendered by the works of Namdeva, Kabir, Dnyanèshwar and Eknath and others of minor importance who preceded the poets of Shivaji's time, the work of these latter who followed them helped its growth and fully developed the spirit of enthusiasm which was characteristic of Shivaji and his followers, and which was one of the principal causes of their hatred of the Mahomedan power.

6. With regard to the political measures adopted by him for the preservation of his vast acquisitions, and to the revenue system introduced by him some details aregiven in the body of Krishnaji's narrative which, considering the scope of his work may be deemed sufficient. A cursory notice of them however will not be out of place here. The

organization of his army on which depended his power must first be considered. This was composed of Mawlees or the people dwelling in the Ghát Màthà regions and of Hetkarees or the people who dwelt in the Konkan. They furnished themselves with their own arms, the ammunition alone being supplied at the expense of the State. Their dress was not uniform, but as a rule they wore short breeches and had tight long strips of cloth with which they girded up their loins. Most of them used waist coats and wore a cloth round their waist. A sword, shield and matchlock were the arms used by them. As marksmen the Hetkarees surpassed the Mawlees, but in desperate attacks where the use of the sword alone was necessary, the Mawlees excelled. The army will thus be seen to have been composed of men conversant with almost all the necessary tactics required in a successful warfare Besides these every tenth man in a company was armed with a bow and stock of arrows which were availed of in night attacks or surprizes. These he carried in place of the swords, shields or matchlocks of the others. It is strange that the Hetkarees though they came from the Concan could successfully vie with their Mawlee compeers in climbing with equal facility a precipice or rock; or in scaling the walls of a fort difficult for access. Every ten men had an officer over them called "Naik" and every fifty a "Havaldár." The officer over a hundred was called "Jùmlèdar while that over a thousand was termed "Ek-hazari." Similarly over five thousand there were officers who were styled "Panch-hazari." All these officers were subordinate to the "Surnobat" or Commander-in-chief.

7. Next comes the cavalry which like the in-

fantry was composed of two different elements, namely the "Bargeers" and the "Silèdars." The Bargeers were those who like the regular troops of the present day were furnished with horses and ammunition at the expense of the state while the Silédars were required to furnish themselves with horses and ammunition. Their common dress was a pair of tight breeches reaching as far as the knee, a Pagree which they held fastened to their heads by passing a fold of it under the chin, and a long strip of cloth which they folded around their waists. Their weapons were a sword and shield and a spear in the use of which latter they evinced great skill and tact. Over a company of twenty-five horsemen was appointed a Havildar; over one hundred and twenty-five there was a Jumlédar and over every five Jumlédárs there was a Subhédàr. The commander of ten Subhàs or six thousand two hundred and fifty horse was called Punch Hazari. All these were Subordinate to the Surnobat. It will thus be seen that there were two Surnobats, one for the infantry and the other for the cavalry. Besides this regular military establishment, every Jumledar, Subhedar and Punch Hazari had establishments composed of accountants, auditors of accounts and professional spies whose duty it was to collect intelligence regarding the state of affairs in distant provinces and in their own. This system of gathering intelligence established by Shivaji which formed the most important of his political measures, served so far as it related to his own territories as an effectual check over the actions of individual officers and soldiers generally and to detect particular instances of deceitful conduct and embezzlement. His arrangements with regard to the forts require a passing notice. The forts were all placed under

the command of a Killedar who was called Havaldar with one or more Surnobats subordinate to him. The smaller forts had usually one Surnobat the larger ones more than one. Every fort had a Subnis and a Karkhanis the former did all the writing work while the latter served as a commissary of provisions and stores. The garrison in the forts was composed of the ordinary infantry, but this was quite a distinct establishment from the general infantry, and solely maintained for the protection of the forts only.

8. Shivàji's revenue arrangements were generally based on the principles laid down by Dádoji Konddéva. The assessments were imposed on the actual yield of the crop, three-fourths of which were given to the cultivating Ryot and two-fifths to the State. The system of farming the revenue was discountenanced, the collection being entrusted to departmental agents chosen by him. A kàrkùn was appointed to superintend the collections of every two or three villages, who was subordinate to the Turufdár who held charge of a larger area. There was a Súbhédàr over a considerably large area with a fort or two in it, where the collections were deposited. The Déshmookhs and Dèshpàndés were strictly prohibited from having anything to do in the revenue management of the country; nor were they allowed to collect their dues which were paid to them annually by means of an order. The conduct and work of the Pàtils, Khotes and Kúlkarnees were carefully watched. Religious endowments made by the Mahomedan rulers were continued; so also allowances to mosques and tombs of renowned saints.

9. Shiváji died in the 53d year of his age on

the 5th day of April 1680. It will no doubt be admitted that he was really an extraordinary personage, and though it is very difficult to form at this distant date a correct estimate of his character, still from tradition and old records it can safely be asserted that in the annals of India his name stands without a rival. It certainly was not the feat of an ordinary person to have collected a band of Mawlees and having put himself at their head and inspired them with wonderful enthusiasm led them to perform heroic deeds. His revenue arrangements and military discipline as also the rules of conduct prescribed by him for the guidance of his officers and men furnish a true index of his not only wonderful but astounding talents and genius. As a statesman and administrator he may fairly lay claim to a very high rank in the page of history. He was pleasing and affable in his manners, of a jovial mood and highly intelligent features, very rigorous in the punishments he inflicted on delinquents, and liberal in the rewards he distributed among his deserving followers. He was particularly kind to those who were either captured or fell in the hands of his men, to women and helpless men and to those who yielded and swore allegiance to him and placed themselves under his protection. He appreciated the merits and valorous deeds of his soldiery and frankly acknowledged their obligations whenever he thought he was under them, which he did evince by the bestowal of handsome gifts and presents. Naturally endowed with an intellect of a superior order, he could perceive it in others and always endeavoured to stimulate and patronize it. He was a keen sighted politician, patient and persevering; and for the accomplishment of his object seldom hesitated to make

use of intrigues In short wherever the Marathi language is spoken his name is still held in veneration and his deeds remembered with feelings of enthusiasm.

10. Before concluding, it may be worth while to say a few words here with regard to the Marathi manuscript of which the following pages are a translation. Mr. T. Bosanquet, for some time Collector of Kolaba found it, it is said, with the Patil of Pàchàd— a village in the Mahad Taluka (more popularly known by its old name Raigad) of the Kolaba Collectorate. It apperas to be a copy of a very old manuscript from the language used throughout, which is of the old style. The structure of sentences is incomplete in several places and almost the whole manuscript abounds with obsolete words and expressions. The translator has however used his best endeavours to make the translation as clear and at the same time as literal as possible. He has also added numerous notes to render the sense of the original more intelligible and he trusts that his labors will meet with a favorable reception.

11. The translation has been prepared for Mr. T. Bosanquet under the directions of Mr. J. Elphinston Collector of Kolàba now acting at Ahmednuggur;and the desire of keeping a permanent record of the same as also an expression of its approbation from numerous friends and acquaintances have prompted the translator to cause it to be printed. Numerous mistakes may have crept in the translation as well as the printing for which the translator humbly begs to be excused, assuring at the same time his readers that should he find an opportunity of printing a second edition of his work, which is not unlikely, he will take care to see that they are removed.

Alibag 1st March 1884.

From

Krishnaji Anant Sabhasud

TO.

HIS HIGHNESS SHRIMANT

CHHATRAPATI.

I the humble servant of Your Highness after paying my respects to Your Highness and all the courtiers respectfully beg to relate in obedience to Your Highness' orders the history of your grand sire from the beginning. Your highness' humble servant has the honor of being perfectly acquainted with your grand sire's chivalrous deeds by which the Carnatic and many other territories and strongholds were subjugated and brought under the Maratha yoke.

1. The father of Shahaji, that is, the grand father of Raja Shivaji was Maloje who had a brother named Vithoji. Maloji was the most influential Vizier in the kingdom of the * Adilshahi and was a pious devotee of Shree Shambhoo Mahadeo. A fair was held in the month of Chaitra

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* The territory subject to the Government of the Emperor of Bijapoor.

(April or May) every year on the top of the hill where the temple of Shree Shambhoo was situated. Great scarcity of water then prevailed and the fair-going people had to fetch it after a troublesome journey from a place situated six miles below the hill. Maloji Raja resolved therefore to dig a large tank for the benefit of pilgrims and others. Accordingly he spent an immense sum and filled the tank with water. The very night Shree Shambhoo Mahadeo appeared to him in a dream and said "As a reward for your piety I shall be born in your family and protect Gods and Brahmins and destroy the wicked. I shall also give you a kingdom in the Dekkan as far as the Narbadda." This pleased Maloji exceedingly. He therefore distributed ample alms. Afterwards two sons Shahaji and Sambhaji were born to him. They both were very fortunate and held jehagirs under the Government of the * Nizamshahi. On the termination of the Nizamshahi Shahaji became Vizier of the Adilshahi government under the designation of Maharaja and commanded an army of ten or twelve thousand. Sambhaji Raja was then in the service of the Mongul, holding the office of Vizier. Shahaji had two wives, the elder was Jeejawoo Bai who was the mother of Sambhaji Raja and Shivaji Raja. When Shivaji was born, Shambhoo Mahadeo appeared to Shahaji in a dream and said "The child is my incarnation. He has to undertake several enterprises. Let him be under your fostering care till he

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* This refers to the government of the territory belonging to the Emperor of Ahmednuggur.

attains the twelfth year of his age, but afterwards give him independence and let him go wherever he pleases." The next day ample distribution of alms and charities was made.

2. The younger wife of Shahaji named Tookai Bai was the mother of Vyankoji Raja. Thus Shahaji had three sons in all. One of them Sambhaji was as above stated, in possession of an independent jehagir in the dominions of the Beejapoor government; but he died of poison treacherously administered to him in pills by the royal consort of Sultan Mahomed.

3. Shivaji went to Shahaji who was then in Bengalore in the Carnatic, and assisted his father in the management of state affairs. Shahaji had one Naropant Dixit in his service who had two very wise sons Raghunathpant and Janárdan pant. Shahaji's jehageer included the Pergunnah of Poona placed under the care of a shrewd carcoon Dadoji Konddeo. While returning from the Carnatic where Dadoji had gone on a visit to his Royal master, he was entrusted with the care of Shivaji and Jeejai Bai who were accompanied by Shankurji Nilkanth the Peishwa, Krishnajipant the uncle of Naropant Dixit, Bhai the minister, Sonopant the Councellor and Raghunath Ballal the Head clerk. The party left for Poona, and on his arrival there Shivaji at once took possession of the twelve * Mavals, captured and put to death the Deshmookhs who had them

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* The region along the eastern side of the Sahyadri Range.

in their possesson. In the meantime Dadoji Konddeo died; whereupon Shivaji assumed the government of his kingdom. There was at this time one Soobhanji Mohitey the brother of Shivaji's step mother who was appointed * Mokasi of the † Mahal of Supe by his father Shahaji. Shivaji went to Supe to demand from his uncle a present of money for the Shimga festival. When there he imprisoned his uncle and seized his three hundred horses, money, jewels, clothes and everything that belonged to him and thus possessed himself of the Pergunnah of Supe. Shivaji then appointed Tookoji Chore as the commander of his forces, Balkristnapant his § Muzumdar, Sonopant his ‡ Dabir, and Rughunathpant his ¶ Subnis. Thus shrewdly and carefully did Shivaji manage the affairs of his kingdom, He then put to death one hundred warriors, captured two hundred horses and laid his hands on three lacs of ☞ Hones and on rich cloth and jewels and

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* The holder of villages or lands, or a share in the rule over them and revenue arising from them, granted on condition of military service or in Inam.

† A subdivision of a division of the country.

§ A public officer whose province it was to inscribe all writs and deeds, and to write on all accounts of receipts and disbursements the words "approved", "admitted", "passed". He answers to Auditor or Accountant General

‡ A Secretary or Notary.

¶ The Head clerk whose business it was to pay the public servants of a district or charge.

☞ A gold coin.

with the booty returned to Poona. He then took Ahmednuggur, fought bravely with the Mongul and captured seven hundred horses and elephants and found a large treasure. Whereupon about three or four thousand horse and two thousand § Siledars flocked to his standard and were put under the command of Mankoji Dahatonde. Kondane afterwards called Shinvagud, belonging to the Adilshahi government was seized and made his military head-quarters; so was also the fort of Poorundhur seized and taken possession of. The latter also belonged to the Adilshahi kingdom and was commanded by a brave Brahmin named Nilkantrao. He had two sons who quarreled with each other; whereupon Shivaji went to Purundhur to effect a reconciliation between them, but on his arrival there he imprisoned both of them and helped himself with the fort.

4 Shivaji then reduced Kalyan and Bhewandi in the Concan and took possession of the fort which was one of the Adilshahi possessions. Thus did Shivaji go on settling his people in one place after another. He then built a fort on a mountain called Murbad and named it Rayagud. Four settlements were made on the level surfaces of the mountain.

5 There was at this time Chandrarow reigning at Jowli in the Konkan who possessed very strong forts and had a set of hardy followers.

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§ A horse soldier who provides his own horse.

His kingdom could not be obtained unless Chandrarow was put to the sword. Shivaji therefore called Raghunathpant to him and said "It is only you who can perform this piece of work; go to Chandrarow as on an embassy." Raghuanathpant thereupon set out with some chosen horsemen and twentyfive swordsmen and on his arrival there sent word to Chandrarow to say that he was sent by the Raja and craved an interview to explain to him the object of his visit. Chandrarow received him and had a talk with him on several subjects, the true one being concealed. He was shewn a place to put up at, where he lodged for the day. The next day he again went to Chandrarow and had a private interview, when Chandrarow and his brother Sooryajirow fell dead under the blows of a dagger. Raghunathpant immediaely set out with twenty-five men and was pursued by the followers of the assassinated king, who shared the fate of their master. This being accomplished, Raghunathpant again saw the Rájá who immediately marched on Jowli and found no difficulty in conquering it, for, when the leader was dead what resistance was to be expected from his followers.?

6. The Mowlees were then granted leases to settle there. Pratapgud was next taken. Chandrarow had another brother named Hanmantrao who had taken refuge in a place called "Cha turbat" near Jowli. Seeing that there would be no peace at Jowli until he was removed, Shivaji sent Suntaji Kuvaji Mahaldar who pretneding to have a private talk with Hanmantrao on some marriage alliance secretly despatched

him with his dagger. Hanmantrao being thus removed, the conquest of Jowli was completed.

7. The valley of "Sivtur" was then in the possession of a robber chief Babaji Kondnac. He was captured and his eyes put out.

8 Surves was then reigning at Shringarpur. Shivaji marched against him and took his capital. Surves then took to flight. Whereupon Sirké the minister of Surves was induced to give up the cause of his master and put Shivaji in possession of the kingdom. For this he was admitted into friendship and was given grants of villages. He also got his son married with his daughter.

9 For the trouble Moro Trimbuk, a Brahmin, took in the conquest of Jowli and Shringarpoor, Shivaji dismissed Shamrao Nilkant from the office of the Peishwa and gave it to Moro Trimbuk. So also was Nilo Sonedev given the place of Muzumdar for his services after the dismissal of Krishnajipant. Anantajipant received for his labors the * Soornisi, Gunga Shimgaji was made the † Waknis, and Prabhakar-

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* The post of general Record keeper, Registrar and Superintendent of correspondence, by whom all deeds and grants were examined and authenticated.

† The manager of the household, and chief caterer, a sort of major-domo. Under Shivaji the Waknis was one of the eight principal ministers whose duty it was to keep the pri-

bhut was the family priest, Netaji Palkur being made the § Surnowbat of the army.

10 During the Surnobatship of Netaji Palkar, the army consisted of 2,000 Infantry and 3,000 Silledars. The Mavlees numbered 1,000 souls. Yessaji Kank was made their Surnobat. Such were the measures adopted for the security of government. The wife of Shivaji named Sayibai the daughter of Nimbalkar gave birth to a son who was named Sambhaji Rájá. There were great rejoicings and alms-giving on the occasion. They took up their residence in the hill-fort at Rajgud.

11. This news reached the Emperor of Delhi and Ali Adilshaha the Emperor of Beejapoor. The wife of Sultan Mahomed who was the queen regent of Ali Adilshaha and had therefore the entire administration in her hands was much grieved at this piece of intelligence. That Shivaji had taken the hill-forts belonging to the Beejapoor kingdom, that he had subjugated the country, destroyed one or two kingdoms and had turned out a great robber were the thoughts that tormented her. With the object therefore of crushing him she sent a messenger with a letter to Shahaji who was then at Bengrool to say that it did not become him as a servant of the Beejapoor Government to have sent his

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vate journal, records and letters, and to superintend the household troops and establishment.

§ The highest military officer, the governor of a fort.

son to Poona who turned out disloyal to the Beejapoor Government, captured four hill-forts and subjugated the country around and conquered one or two states in alliance with the Beejapoor Government, that he ought therefore to warn his son and keep him under proper control failing which the Government would seize that son and keep him in their custody. Shahaji in reply wrote saying that though Shivaji was his son, he was a runaway and that therefore he had no control over him; that so far as he was concerned he was a devoted and loyal servant of the Government, that the Government might attack his son Shivaji and dispose of him as they liked, and lastly that he would never interfere. On receipt of this reply she called together the Vizier and the Oomrows of the court and asked if any of them would undertake to attack Shivaji. None shewed his willingness except Afzoolkhan the vizier who said that he would before long bring Shivaji as a captive to the court. The queen-regent was overjoyed and presented Afzoolkhan with clothes, jewels, elephants, horses and immense treasure, and having commended his valorous spirit she furnished him with a retinue composed of 12,000 horse, and the grandees of the court. He proudly marched at the head of this army and reached Tooljapoor. Here he broke to pieces the idol of Shree Bhowani the tutelary deity of Shiváji's family and ground the pieces to dust. Thence he proceeded to Pundhurpoor and polluted the shrine there. Thence he went on to Wái, where he hit upon the plan of sending an embassy to Shivaji for the purpose of negociating with him and treacherously catching him alive. Whereupon he sent for Krishnajipant

one of the envoys and instructed him to go to Shivàji and deliver to him the following message.- "Your father Shahaji and the Beejàpoor Government have been old friends and therefore there should be no misunderstanding between you and them; I shall request the Government to make over to you the Konkan proper as a jehageer and to ratify your possession of the hill-forts belonging to the Government, already taken by you, and to satisfy all your desires with regard to *Surumjams: you may have an interview with the Emperor, but if you do not wish it, it may be dispensed with." He told Krishnajipant thus to try his best to induce the king to come for an interview with him, but that if he (Krishnajipant) did not succeed, he might inform the king that he(Afzoolkhan) was ready to see the king personally if allowed. The king in the meanwhile learnt that Afzoolkhan was appointed by the Government at Beejapoor with 12,000 horse to march against him. He then got his whole army ready with the intention of offering Afzoolkhan a battle at Jowli and himself proceeded to Pratapgud. But in this idea he was not encouraged by his followers who were then more for peace than for a battle. The king however persisted saying that if peace was made and an interview granted, he might share the fate of his brother Sambhaji. That he would never advo-

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* This word means villages and lands granted in Inam to persons from whom the maintaining of forts or troops for the public service is required or upon whom a horse, a palkhi, or other honorable yet expense-involving gift has been conferred,

cate peace, and said "Let us fight and leave the rest to God". Then the goddess Bhowani of Tooljapoor shewed herself to him in a dream and assured him that she was pleased with him and that she would help him in every way, saying that she would have Afzoolkhan killed by him and promising success told him not to fear. Thus assured he awoke in the morning and sent for Jeejawoo to whom he communicated his dream. He also sent for Gomaji Naik Jamadar, Krishnaji Naik, Soobhanji Naik, Sircarcoon Moropant, Gungaji Moogaji, Netaji Palkar, Raghunath Ballal Subnis, the family-priest and other grandees of his Court to whom he similarly communicated his dream and said that as the goddess Shree Bhowani was favorable to him, they would see him put Afzoolkhan to death. They replied that if the attempt was successful, well and good,if not, the result would be fraught with danger. The king said that if peace was made he apprehended danger to his life, but that if a battle was given, it would be all the same for them whether they came successful or fell in it, as, in both the cases their names would be immortalized. The precept laid down in the † Geeta, he said, was in favor of such a course; there was no other alternative but that a battle should be given. The king further said that his mother Jeejawoo and young Sambhaji should be sent to Rajgad, so that if Afzoolkhan was vic-

† A sacred poem forming part of the Mahabharat, the great Sanscrit Epic. It is a discourse between Krishna and Arjoon in which Krishna advocates war and prevails upon Arjoon to fight with his kinsmen the Kowrows.

torious, he might dispose of him(king) alone as he liked, but if he fell in the battle, there was Sambhaji who might be placed on the throne and to whom fealty might be sworn. Having issued these instructions he bowed down to his mother and took leave of her. The mother blessed him saying "May success attend thee". The king then proceeded to Pratápgad and ordered Netaji Palkar Surnobat to follow him to the Ghauts with the army saying he would then send for Afzoolkhan and see him at Jowli for the purpose apparently of negociating peace and thus seducing him to a conference. Netaji Palkar was in the meanwhile to form an ambuscade on the top of the Ghauts. He was to be accompanied by Trimbuk Bhasker and Shamjirao Padmanabhe a rich grandee from the Konkan, with a large army. This arranged, the kings mind was at rest. In the meanwhile Pantajipant an envoy of the Khan arrived. He was admitted into the fort where an interview took place between him and the king. Among other things, the envoy communi cated to the king the Khan's message. The king said that he honored the Khan just as he honoured his own sire and that he would as in duty bound have an interview with him. He then assigned Pantajipant a suitable place to put up in and permitted him to occupy it. At night Pantajipant was sent for, for a secret conference at which the king and Pantajipant were alone present. The king then asked him to relate on oath everything in detail regarding the Khan's intentions. "We are, he said, united in interest. I have hitherto managed to maintain the kingdom and as you are a wise person, it now becomes you to save it from destruction.

I will now hand over the management of the whole kingdom to you with immense treasure but tell me, I pray, the real intentions of the Khan." Thus seducing him to familiarity he succeeded in drawing out the truth from Pantajipant who said "the Khan has promised the Beejapoor Government that under the pretext of an interview he would bring you as a prisoner to the Beejapoor Court. If you have courage enough, you might call him to a secret conference and accomplish your object by destroying him. You would then be able to rout his army and secure the kingdom for yourself.' The king approved of these suggestions and presented Pantajipant with 5,000 gold Mohurs and desired him to say to the Khan "the king is much afraid of you; he has no courage to come for an interview with you at Wai. As you are an elderly personage, it will bespeak your magnanimity to go to Jowli for the interview and then encourage him to accompany you for being introduced to the Emperor of Beejapoor; and thus secure his welfare and future advancement." With this message he sent Pantajipant to the Khan who was then at Wai. The message was accordingly delivered by Pantajipant who said "The king is timid: he has not courage enough to come to you for the interview. You will therefore kindly go to Jowli to see him and assuring him of protection take him to Beejapoor.' The Khan was much pleased with this message. He passed through the Radtondi Ghaut and appeared before Jowli, and encamped at the foot of Pratapgad. He planted sentinels on all sides. There were about 12,000 horse with camp-followers, musketeers, artillery and guns mounted on camels placed in different

positions where water was easily obtainable. The Khan then sent Pantajipant to the King with a message desiring him to come for an interview.

12 Accordingly Pantajipant had an interview with the King and among other things informed him that as arranged he had prevailed upon the Khan to come at last and that he had succeeded in bringing about the desired interview between their Majesties; that the King might do as he desired when they were alone for the pur pose of the interview: that the interview should take place on the day following the next; that it was so arranged that the king should come down to the foot of Pratapgad and that the Khan was to issue from his camp and that the interview was to take place in tents pitched for the purpose on the boundary. Pantajipant then took leave of the king and returned to the khan and communicated to him the arrangements at which the khan expressed his approbation. The next day the king held his court at the foot of the mountain. The pavilions were decked with blue canopies fringed with pearls, and contained soft seats and cushions and were hung with variegated curtains. The king then sent a word to Netaji Palkar who was on the Ghatmatha to be ready with his army for an attack at a signal given (which would be the blast of a collirie horn) for, the next day he would have an interview with the Khan and accomplish his object by assassinating him. That at the signal given Netaji was to descend the mountain and hem in from all sides the khan's army and route it. The king who had also ordered up Moropant Peishwa from the Konkan informed him of the proposed

signal. He then concealed some soldiers chosen from among the army, in the Ghauts and posted them in ambuscades. After bath and meals the king put on a steel chain armour reaching the waist, and over it a jacket embroidered with gold. On the head he wore a turban woven with gold and put on short breeches girding the loins with a narrow but long piece of cloth called "kacha." He carried in his hands a crooked dagger and fixed on his fingers a *"Wagnuck". Thus accoutred he set out accompanied by Jewba Mardane who was armed with a sword and a shield, and by two other followers, †"Bargeers" being posted in different places around as he proceeded. The khan also came out with great pomp and ostentation. He was accompanied by 15,000 troops and a body of infantry consisting of one-thousand men armed with match-locks. Pantajipant on seeing this remarked with due respect to the khan that the army would alarm the king and the object of the interview would be frustrated. "Why need we, said he, this exhibition to overawe such an insignificant person as Shivaji"?. "The king, continued he, is coming only with two followers; you should take with you only two and then try issue with him when you meet together." The khan there-

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* Literally meaning tiger's claws: this is a small steel instrument made to fit on the fore and little finger. It has three crooked blades, which are easily concealed in a half-closed hand.

† A trooper that is mounted and equipped by the chief or state that employs him, as opposed to Siledar.

upon ordered the army to halt at a little distance from the place assigned for the interview and accompanied by a brave fencer named Sayad Banda advanced in a palanquin in front of which walked two armed men. Thus he arrived at the tent pitched for the purpose, and seeing the decorations of pearls and the soft cushions and "gaddis" was grieved at heart that such an insignificant person like Shivaji, the son of Shahaji a mere vizier should possess pavilions and cushions so wrought with gold and fringed with pearls—things which even the Emperor did not possess. He must, he said have got these riches by foul means. Whereupon Pantajipant said that the riches must eventually return to the Imperial Treasury and that therefore there was no reason for anxiety. So saying, he led the khan into the pavilion and seated him there. * Harcarus and messengers were then despatched to fetch the king immediately. The king who was then at the foot of the hill advanced slowly to the pavilion. but halted on learning that the khan was accompanied by a very expert swordsman by name Sayad Banda, and sent for Pantajipant. On his arrival the king said "I have the same reverence for the khan that I have for father Shahaji; arrange things in such a way that I may not feel alarmed in his presence. I am afraid of Sayad Banda who is with the khan; see that he is removed to a distance." Pantajipant then went to the khan and caused Sayad Banda to be sent away. The khan was then left with only two followers. The king then

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* A courier, a spy.

proceeded with two followers Jewba Mahali and Sambhaji Kowji. The khan also advanced a few paces to receive him; and while embracing each other, the khan pressed the king's head under his armpit, and having unsheathed his sword thrust it into the sides of the king who received no hurt as it only clashed against the chained steel armour in which he was dressed. The king thereupon plunged his "Wagnuk" into the bowels of the khan who wore only a robe, and pulled them out. He next used his * Beechwa. Having thus inflicted two wounds the king disentangled his neck from the khan's armpit, leaped down from the platform and left the scene. The khan then raised a cry "Help, help, murder, murder, treachery treachery". Hearing this the palanquin bearers rushed forward and putting him into the palanquin bore him away. But while they were moving with the palanquin, Sambhaji Cowji Mahaldar wounded the palanquin bearers in their legs and brought the palanquin down to the ground. He then cut off the khan's head and brought it to the king. Sayad Banda then hastened to the scene and showered his sword blows upon the king. The king took his own sword from Jewba-Mahali and while engaged in fencing, averted four blows of Sayad Banda by means of his sword and Beechwa. Sayad Banda was then on the point of inflicting a wound on the king's hand when Jewba by

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* Literally meaning scorpion. The dagger is aptly named from its resemblance to that reptile.

means of his sword which he had about him cut the arm of Sayad Banda clean off at the shoulder. This done, Jeewaji Mahali, Sambhaji Cowji Mahaldar and the king went to the fort with the khan's head, and when there, they fired a gun. At this signal Netaji Palkar and Moropant Peishwa with his Mawlees from the Konkan attacked the forces of the khan on all sides. The khan's army which consisted of 2,000 regular troops and 10,000 camp followers having learnt that his head was taken to the fort were disheartened, and a panic fell upon them. At the same time the king's forces hemmed them in: a bloody battle ensued which lasted for nearly six hours. The grandees who accompanied the khan's forces, warriors fully armed, Mahadin and Oosdin Pathan, the Rohillas, the Arabs, the Surnees, the Sir Vizeers, the Firgees, Marathas of noble blood, *Dhungurs, Brahmins, the men in charge of the bullocks which dragged the gun carriages, the Carnatie gunshots, the archers, and all other arm bearers and the gunners all fought desparately, without any distinction of rank. The Mowlees fought on foot hand to hand. Some of the elephants that were brought to the battle field lost their tails, tusks and trunks while others lay dead on the field. The horses were killed at one blow. The battle field was strewn with innumerable carcases of the dead. Pools of blood were formed. The clotted blood and the flesh of the dead together lay like mire under the treading feet of the warriors. The following

* Shepherds.

is the list of the live and dead stock that fell in the hands of the Marathas.

About 75. Elephants.	About 4,000 Horses.
—...—1,200. Camels	—...—70,000,000. Cash.
—...— 75 Viziers.	—...— 200 Cart loads.
—...—3,000. Jewellery.	of cloth.

Besides these several guns and immense jewellery were captured: so also were cattle. Those who surrendered themselves to the conquerors, helpless men, women, and children were allowed to depart unmolested. The king's followers knowing the generous disposition of the king followed his example in allowing the helpless to depart unmolested. Fazul the son of Afzoolkhan under a disguise betook himself to the woods. Innumerable others fled away.

13 Thus the king was victorious. He descended from the fort and applauded the spirit of his followers who fought for his cause with their heart. The † "Watans" of those who fell in the battle were continued to their sons; where there were no sons, half portions of the watans were continued to their widows. The wounded were, according to the nature of the injuries they had sustained, rewarded with from 25 to 200 Hones. Those who fought hard received as presents horses, elephants, necklaces set with jewels, headornaments, pearls, rings, pearl-necklaces, waist girdles set with diamonds

† Grants of lands and other hereditary allowances.

and several clothes and other ornaments. Some received even 1,000 Hones as their reward and were thus pleased.

14 This was like the quarrel between the * Kowrows and the * Pandows, in which several warriors fell on both sides. It was not an ordinary exploit that the king should have taken Afzoolkhan aside and put him to death. The lion destroyed an elephant. In stature, strength and treachery Afzoolkhan was every bit like * Duryodhan. The king killed Afzoolkhan just as the Pandows killed the Kowrows. This could not have been achieved by a mortal. The king was really an incarnation of God.

15. The Vizeers and the Oomrows of the khan, who had been taken captives were dismissed with rich rewards. Pantajipant's services were appreciated. He also was presented with rich clothes, jewels, ornaments. horses, elephants, palanquin and immense wealth. The king's mother who was in the fort at Raigud being informed of the victory was highly delighted. Alms and sugar were distributed and there was great rejoicing, † "Nagaras" were beaten, § "Kurnas"

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* The heroes of the Màhâbhârat, the great Sanscrit Epic. Duryodhan was the eldest of the 101 sons of Dhratrastra and Gandhari, who were known as Kowrows. * The Pandows were the five sons of Pandu. * In the great war between them all the Kowrows were killed and the Pandows were victorious.

† Drum

§ Horn

were blown and guns were fired. The mother also distributed liberal alms. The joyful news was communicated in every quarter. All were highly pleased.

16 On the fourth day a messenger brought news to the Emperor and the queen-regent that the Khan had been treacherously killed, his head being taken off by the conquerors, and the whole army completely routed and plundered. Ali Adilshaha, grieved at the news, descended the throne and went to his palace. He then seated himself upon a couch and gave himself up to lamentations. The queen-regent also came to know this sad affair while she was sitting upon her couch. She cried out "Alla, Khuda," and threw herself down it, lamented the loss, and said "Alla has destroyed the Adilshahi kingdom and given it over to Shivaji. The rule of the Musulmans is now over and that of the Hindoos restored." Thus giving vent to her feelings she fainted but soon recovered her senses through the timely assistance of a maid servant. She refused to eat for about six days. All the citizens and the army were seriously meditating this misfortune and it was a general talk then that the victorious king would come in a day or two and destroy every vestige of the Musulman power by seizing the fort and the city.

17 Afterwards Shivaji had a dream in which the goddess Bhowani shewed herself to him and said that she wished to live in his kingdom and be worshipped there. The king then ordered five pieces of marble from the river Gandaki and with these had a temple built in honor of the

goddess on the Pratapgud hill. On this occasion he gave away immense wealth in religious charities and made golden ornaments studded with precious jewels for the image. He also appointed a Havaldar, a Muzumdar, and a Peishwa for the management of the temple. Festivals began to be observed, vows paid and fairs held in honor of the goddess and every thing here went on just as at Tooljapoor. The pilgrims who went to Tooljapur were directed by the inspiration of the goddess to go to Pratapgud and offer vows there.

18 The death of Afzoolkhan the powerful Vizier of the Bijapur kingdom weakened its power. The king taking advantage of this captured all the forts of the Bijapur kingdom in the Konkan. He also took 50 other hill forts. The Ghauts surrendered to Shivaji who had then a formidable army consisting of 7,000 foot, 15000 horse and 12,000 camp followers besides Bargeers and siledars. The whole army under Netaji Palkar surnobat overran Palghat, Parande, Haveli, Kulburga, Lwase, Udgir and all the country as far as the Godavery, and exacted tributes. The surnobat then fought a battle with the Subhedar of Aurungabad who advanced against him with his army; killed him and many of his elephants and horses and captured Aurungabad.

19 The following measures were adopted by Shivaji for the protection of his acquisitions.

A Surnobat, a Havaldar and a Subnis were appointed to guard the forts. A Commissariat Department was attached to each fort. A karkoon was appointed under the Subnis to assist him in his accounts. In case of strong forts five Tat-surno-

bats were appointed. All these officers were required to be vigilant, careful and cautious. A sufficient number of fighting men was appointed to guard the forts. These last were divided into parties of ten men each under a Naik. These were chosen by the king himself from amongst Hetkarees, gunshots, archers and others. The Havaldars and surnobats were chosen from amongst the Marathas of noble descent to whom lands were assigned as Personal Inams. New offices were established; all these officers were to be opposed in interests and to be independent of each other, so that no Havaldar could have had the sole command of a fort nor, in case there arose a quarrel, could any of the men engaged treacherously surrender it to an enemy. In the same manner the army was divided into Pagas. The strength of these was enormously increased and siledars were appointed over them. None was allowed independence. In the Pagas too every horse had a Bargir and 25 such Bargeers were under the command of a Maratha Havaldar who was a Dharekari. Five such Havaldars constituted a Jumla under a Jumledar who drew 500 Hones as his salary besides a Palakhi (palanquin). His Muzumdar got 100 to 125 Hones besides. Every 25 horses had a Pakhalji and a Nalband (veterinary servant). Ten such Jumlas were commanded by a Hajaria who received 1000 Hones. To assist him the offices of a Muzumdar and a Maratha Karbhari were created. These four were held responsible for the Revenue and expenditure. A Punch-Hajaria had the command of 5 such Hajarias. He had 2000 Hones for his allowance. In the same way Muzumdars and Karbharees were considered Revenue officers. Every

Paga had a Mamla. The siledars had separate Subhas but they and the Pagas were also subordinate to the Surnobat. The Hajarias and the Surnobat appointed the Vaknisi karkuns and Halcarus. The then Surnobat had a very expert messenger named Heerji Jadhow who was made the Naik of messengers. He was appointed to the post after a careful examination of his qualifications.

20 It was ruled that the army should retire during the monsoons to their Head quarters. There should be sufficient provision made of grain, medicines and accommodation in shape of houses thatched with straw, for men and horses. Soon after the Dusra festival, the army should leave the Head quarters. At the time of leaving the camp a memorandum should be made of the property and other articles belonging to all the men. For eight months the army should maintain themselves in the country at large and recover tribute. No man in the army was to take with him wife, mistress or prostitute; one who infringed this rule was to lose his head. In the country, the army should not arrest men, women or children. A strongly built bullock capable of carrying loads might be seized. The Brahmans should not be molested. For eight months the army should be moving out. At the end of Vyshak (May) they should return to the Head quarters. Soon after arrival the army should be searched. If any person was found in possession of more articles (more than those enumerated as belonging to him in the memorandum framed at the time of leaving the Head quarters), their price should be fixed and deducted from his allowance. Costly ar-

ticles should be made over to Government. If any one concealed them and the Sirdar came to know it, the person concealing them was to be punished. After return to Head-quarters, the Sirdar was to take an account of money, gold, silver, jewels, cloth and other articles and with them to go to the King and pay his respects to him. In the presence of the King he was to render an account of them and make over the things to the King; the men in the army were to render similar accounts and represent special claims, if any, to any of the articles and beg the King to give them. The army should then return to the camp. After a halt of four months they should see the King on the Dusra day and then take his orders and proceed to the country as directed by him. Such was the arrangement with regard to the army.

21. Similarly one Naik was appointed over ten Mawlees (the people from Mawal); one Havaldar over fifty persons ; one Joomledar over two or three Havaldars . Ten Joomledars formed one Hazari . A Joomledar received as his yearly emoluments a sum of 100 * Hones. A † subnis received as his yearly emoluments 40 Hones. A Hazari received the yearly emolument of 500 Hones. His subnis received 100 Hones. The Hazaris

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* A gold coin ; the exact value of this coin can not now be ascertained , as there were various kinds of it , and it is not known what particular kind is meant .

† The Head Clerk attached to one of the Darakdar . His business was to pay the Sibandis and public servants of a district or charge .

were headed by a surnobat. Yesji Kank was appointed to this post and every one was required to be obedient to him. The Surnobat, Moozoomdar, Fadnis, Chitnis and other Huzur officials received their yearly allowances by means of Remittance orders drawn at the Huzur. Those who cultivated the land had their allowances adjusted according to the existing custom; others receiving their allowances by Remittance orders drawn by the Huzur. No allowances were to be paid by allotment of Jehageers or Hucks over the revenue of any portion of the country. All payment was to be made by Remittance orders or from the Government treasury. The infantry standing in the forts and in the country was to be paid by the karkuns, as, by the bestowal of Jehageers and Hucks the Royts would be in disorder and would be powerful, while the officers of Government would be powerless; if the Royts were powerful, there would be mutiny in different quarters; the persons holding Jehageers would, in harmony with their tenants show disloyal conduct; the bestowal of Jehageers should therefore be discountenanced. Over the country acquired by conquest a karkun should be appointed for the necessary supervision. The karkun to be so appointed must be familiar with reading and writing and keeping accounts. A karkun competent in these subjects and in Jamabandy was alone to be kept in the district and was to be entrusted with the (*Moozmoo) supervision of a

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* The authority collecting the revenue demands of Government and exercising supervision over its expenditure.

Mahal. A similar one was to be appointed to the (§Hawala) charge of a Mahal. Another was to be appointed to the (Moozmee) supervision of a Subha; and after he had gained experience in his duties a Havaldar was to be appointed over a Subha and the Havaldar who was competent in writing and careful in his work was to be entrusted with a * Mamla. Those who were not familiar with writing were not to be entrusted with the management of a Mahal. Such were to be told to look out for employment under the Emperor's Government, or to take a horse and perform the duties of a † Siledar. Karkuns should be appointed in the District. The Havaldar of a Mahal was to receive 100 Hones and a Muzumdar 75 hones as their allowance per mensem. A Subhedar was appointed over two or three Mahals the revenue of which amounted from 75,000 to 1,25,000 hones who received as his allowance 400 hones. There was also appointed a Muzumdar over a Subha, who received 100 hones as his allowance. The Subhedar was to maintain a palanquin within his allowance of 400 hones. A Havaldar was allowed ¶ Abdageer. The rule of granting a ‡ Chhutra or chhatri to the Vizier was abrogated be-

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§ Charge, care, custody or trust.

* Civil employment under Government especially the collection of the Revenue, and management of a district.

† One who maintains a horse at his own expense & renders service to Government.

¶ An ornamented flat umbrella borne over Rajahs and grandees in their processions.

‡ A large and lofty parasol, usually of red

cause it was considered incompatible that both the Emperor and his servants should have the same insignia of honor. In the Infantry regiments those who received an allowance of from 100 to 125 Hones had to maintain an Abdageer. In the district the portion of country paying two lacs of hones as revenue was made a Subha. The karkun appointed to watch the revenue and expenditure of that portion of the country which was turbulent had a force of Infantry and cavalry given with him and quartered in strong numbers wherever required.

22 Similarly land was surveyed and measured into " Chahoors ". Five cubits made one " Kathi" (a rod used as a land measure). Twenty such square kathis made one " Beegha "; and one hundred and twenty Beeghas made one "Chahoor". Villages were thus portioned out and lands assigned to each village. The whole produce of the land according to Beegha was divided into five equal shares out of which the Ryot received three, and two were given to Government. New Ryots had cattle supplied to them. Grain and money were advanced to them for seed which were recoverable after two or three years. In this way the Ryots were governed. The karkuns were enjoined to visit the Ryots in their villages and demand from them the share due to Government of the produce of their land. The Ryots were in no way the slaves and bondmen of the Patil, Koolkarni or Deshmookh who had no control whatever over them. As regards

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silk. It is an ensign of dignity.

that portion of the country which was obtained by conquest from the Adilshahi, Nizamshahi & Mogulai Governments, the Ryots there were under the yoke of the Pàtil, Kùlkarni, and Deshmookh who collected the revenue and paid it into Government treasury. Wherever the * Miràsdàrs levied from one to two thousand Hones from the villages in their charge, they paid to Government a fixed sum of two to three hundred Hones only on account of those villages. At this rate the Miràsdàrs became a wealthy class of people and they built strongholds in the villages and became powerful. They did not pay their respects to the † Deewan and repeatedly quarreled if more was demanded from them. The country thus became powerful. The king therefore reduced the country, destroyed the strongholds, took possesion of the stronger forts and having encamped his men there annihilated the Mirásdàrs. Whatever the Miràsdàrs levied by this mode of farmed revenue was thus saved to Government. The Jameedars were granted fixed allowances of grain and money according to the revenue of the village; the Deshmooks, Pátils and Koolkurnees had also fixed allowances sanctioned to them. The Jameedars were not allowed to build fortified compounds, but simple houses. They were also prohibited the possession of guns. The kárkún of the Deewan of a small village received a monthly allowance of 3 hones. An

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* The holder of an hereditary office or public employment (usually with land attached) in a village.

† Under the Moguls, this was the officer in charge of the Revenue administration of a district.

officer was appointed over from five to seven villages who received 5 hones monthly. Dewasthán allowances were continued; so were allowances to mosques and temples. Brahmins proficient in the knowledge of the Vedas and the Shastras, astrology and in the performance of religious rites throughout the country were allowed Warshásan allowances which the kárkúns were to see paid to them at their places of residence.

23. The intelligence of this management of affairs reached the Emperor Aurungzebe at Delhi. He became uneasy and exclaimed. "Shiváji has become powerful; he destroyed Afzoolkhan of Beejapoor with 12, 000 soldiers; and took the forts belonging to the Emperor's Government. What should be done to arrest his progress?" In this anxiety, he resolved to summon a council of his Vizier and the other grandees of his Court. In this council it was decided to send a lac (1,00,000) cavalry to attack the king under the command of Nabàb Shàstèkhàn who was the husband of the Emperor's aunt. Shástèkhán was a brave and influential person. He was despatched with choice Vizíers, brave warriors, a lac (1,00,000) of horses, with instructions to destroy Shiváji and level him to the ground and to capture all the forts and strongholds. A regiment of the Rohillà Pathàns, a body of archers and swordsmen formed his retinue. The artillery drawn by elephants, guns, swords, tents and canopies, one hundred ordinary elephants, four hundred war elephants, camels, carriages containing guns and a vast army accompanied him. With treasure as countless and

immense as that of * Ráwan, this Ràwan of the † Kaliyúga (that is, of the present age) marched from Delhi at the head of a force composed of elephants, camels, carriages, mules, and with gold, silver, Mohurs and Hones aggregating to 32,00,00,000 hones in value. Nabàb Shástékhàn was the very image of the Emperor himself. With this vast army he started towards the south to make an invasion on the king. Wherever the army encamped it occupied a space as large as that occupied by two villages in length and one in breadth. He reached Poona after three months.

24 The king came to know this as soon as Delhi was left. He was at Ràjgad where he held a council of his Sirdàrs, Sarnobats and other grandees of his Court. All unanimously agreed that the king should seek an interview of the Nabáb and propose terms of peace since it was fruitless to fight under such disadvantageous circumstances especially as the army of the Emperor of Delhi was incomparably superior in numbers to their own. The king did not like this proposal for, thought he "Shastékhàn was not a great man of Rajpùt blood, nor a Hindù as he was. He was a Mùsulman and a kinsman of the Emperor and not a follower of the Hindú Faith;

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* The sovereign of Lanká or Ceylon killed by Ràma or Ràmchandra. The antagonist of the hero of the Ràmàyana, one of the Sanscrit Epics.

† The four ages known to the Hindú Shàstra are Krit, Trètà, Dwàpár and Kali. Ràwan flourished in the Trètà yúga.

there could be nothing like bribing him, as he (Shàstékhan) would not save him (king); he might perhaps destroy him if he had an interview. His presence was a great danger.' The king therefore boldly resolved to fight and await the result. The very night the goddess Bhowani appeared in the king and said. "Be not afraid of the warrior whose name is Shástékhan; I shall kill him just as I killed Afzulkhan. Be not in anxiety. As soon as Shàstékhàn encamps, try to rush in his army and fight.' So saying the goddess disappeared and the king came to consciousness. The kárkùns who were near and who had taken down the words of the goddess, shewed them to him. The king seeing that the goddess was favourable to him, nerved himself with courage. When the intelligence of Shástékhán's arrival in Poona was brought to him, he caused a selection to be made of choice Mawlees and of his own people and with a thousand of such men and one or two thousand brave soldiers selected from his army he descended from Ràjgad. He also took with him Daji Bapuji and Chimnaji Bápùji Deshpande Turf Khed. Both these brothers were very wise politicians and the greatest favorites of the king. He placed two armies one under the command of Nètáji Pálkar and the other under that of Moropant Peishwà. One cavalry was placed under the command of Nètáji Pàlkar. Another regiment was also formed of the Màwalees. These he stationed a mile in length on four sides of the place where Shàstèkhàn's army had encamped; while the king himself armed with a shield and a sword took with him a chosen band of a thousand brave warriors and proceeded towards the Nabàb's encampment. In front marched Dáji and Chimnáji Bàpùji Khed-

kar, the army with the king following them. Midnight came when they approached the Nabáb's encampment. Here the thousand men who accompanied the king were divided into two parties which were stationed on both the sides of the Nabàb's tent. With two hundred men chosen out of these the king made his entry unperceived by the guards who were fast sleeping. When they entered the Nabàb's pavilion, they found there the khàn sitting in company with some women. Candles and brass-lamps were burning. At the sight of these strange intruders, they raised an alarm. Meanwhile Chimnaji Bapuji killed five or six khojás who were in front, and put to flight the women and put to the sword as many as he could find; some were killed by the king's men; while others lay concealed. There was an uproar from which the Nabáb learnt that the men of the Emperor's enemy had got in. He rose from his seat in the pavilion and rushed among the women; lights were extinguished; there was dark. The Nabáb would not stir; some of the old in his camp were slaughtered in different places, as they were taken to be the Nabàb. As the Nabáb lay concealed among the women, the king being a pious warrior would not raise his hands on the women. The Nabàb however received sword blows which cut off three of his fingers. Loud screams were now heard. The king then issued and mingled in his army which he had placed under the command of the Surnobat and left the scene. The Nabàb's army began to make a search in their encampment after the assailants but could find no traces. The king returned safe with his army.

25 After daybreak all the Viziers came

to enquire after the khán's health and to their horror found that three of his fingers were cut off. They also found that several of their men were killed and the women wounded. The Nabàb said "It is strange that the enemy of the Emperor should have come to the very threshold of my tent and yet no vizier or sirdár should have been on his guard. All are deserters. I can not trust any one now. Today the king has come to my tent and cut off my fingers; tomorrow he might cut off my head. Shiváji is a very treacherous rogue; he will still perform treacherous acts. I have no confidence in my army. I should therefore return to Delhi. I can not put up with these men." Having thus resolved he started on the third day for Delhi.

26. The king who had returned to Rájgad sent a messenger who brought news that Shàstékhàn had three of his fingers cut off, that his right hand was maimed,that several of his men were cut to pieces and that he himself had returned to Delhi. This intelligence pleased the king much. He said that the name "Shàstèkhàn" given by the Emperor to the Nabàb was not deserved by him, as his actions did not correspond with his name. On the occasion of his defeat therefore, guns were fired; sugar was distributed and there was joy. The king began to look after state affairs. Shàstèkhàn after rapid marches arrived at Delhi. The Emperor was surprised to learn of the Nabàb's discomfiture and was sorely grieved. He said "What an army of the Nabáb and how should it have suffered discomfiture. Surely Shivaji was not a man but a devil." He gave vent to several such ejacula-

tions and when he learnt of the Nabáb's arrival, he refused him an interview for the Nabab had by his conduct frustrated his plans. He sent him word to retire to his house and remain there. He dishonored the Viziers who had accompanied the Nabab and stopped their allowances. They said that the sirdar who led them was appointed over them by the Emperor whose orders were that he should be obeyed. If the sirdar returned defeated, what were they to do? If the Emperor wished it, a valiant leader might be appointed over them with whom they were prepared to go and fight with the enemy and strive hard for success. This proposal was pondered over and approved. The difficulty was as to what sirdar should be appointed to the command; who would come out successful? The choice at last fell on Jeyasing the valiant prince of the Rajpúts. The Emperor then sent for him and said to him, "You are a Rajpùt, so is Shivàji; but you are a devoted servant of the Emperor, be true to your salt." He replied that he would never prove disloyal to the Emperor. The Emperor then offered him a present of a head-ornament and gave him leave to depart. He started from Delhi with the same pomp and grandeur as those of Shàstèkhán, The vast army that accompanied him marched with hot haste so as to fill the whole air with dust. Towards the south they wended their course. On the way Jeyasing thought to himself:-"Shivàji is a very skilful, brave and valiant soldier. He killed with his own efforts Afzùlkhàn. He also effected an entry in the Nabàb's tent and there committed havoc. How was victory possible?" While he was thus anxiously pondering over his

situation, the learned Brahmin priests suggested to him that the Gods might be propitiated whereby victory was certain. Accordingly the Rajpùt chief mentioned the names of * Chundee * Baglàmookhi and * Káltrayi Goddesses, and gave directions to propitiate them. He also caused the religious ceremony of repeating a thousand and more times the name of Kártikaweerya to be performed. Forty thousand Brahmins were employed in the work of propitiating the Gods and Goddesses. The propitiating ceremonies commenced everywhere. Two crores of Rupees were set apart for expenditure in connection with these ceremonies. The ceremonies lasted for 3 months. After the consummation ceremony alms and feasts were given to the Bramins and after rapid marches the Rajpùt Chief and his army arrived in the direction of Ràjgad where the king Shivaji was encamped. Messengers brought news to the king that Jeyasing had arrived with 80,000 horsemen and with Dilélkhan and his 5,000 Pathans. The king became anxious at these tidings. He summoned a council of his sircarcùns, viziers and others who said:—"Afzùlkhan and Shastèkhan were incompetent Músulmans and therefore fell victims to strategems. The Rajpút knew all that and would not therefore be deceived; peace ought to be made with him at any rate." The king said;-"The Rajput might successfully be induced any how to accept terms of peace, but I am afraid of Dilelkhan who is a great favorite of the Emperor and a treacherous rogue; I really can not imagine

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* These are the names of Rajpút Goddesses who were propitiated in times of imminent danger.

what mischief this rogue would do. If he had not accompanied the Rajpùt prince, our object could easily have been accomplished. However let us trust in Shree Bhawáni and act as she dictates." The next day the goddess appeared in Shiváji and spoke ;- " My child the present is a very critical moment; Jeyasing can not be killed nor would he listen to terms of peace; you will have to seek an interview with him, and to go to Delhi where danger will await you; but you need not fear, as, I shall accompany you and by various endeavours protect you, my child, from danger and make you victorious. The kingdom I have given my child is not given to last for one generation. It is to last for twenty seven generations. I have every concern for the kingdom. If my child acts imprudently, it is my look out to see that bad consequences do not ensue. Be not in anxiety on any body's account." After these instructions the Goddess disappeared. These words were taken down by the kàrkùns who read them to the king when he came to consciousness. The king was highly pleased and nerved himself with courage.

27. In the meanwhile Jeyasing pitched his camp between the forts of Pùrandhar and Kondhánà. He sent a letter to the king saying:- "We are one; please see me; we shall do everything for your welfare." This letter reached the king at Ràjgad who read it and began to consider as to what learned person should be deputed as an envoy with his reply, as, the Rajpùt had with him a large number of learned Bràhmins while he himself was learned and well-

versed in the Shástras. At last he resolved to depute Raghùnàth Pandit to whom he handed over his reply, clothes and jewels with instructions to proceed and who accordingly went to the enemy's camp. The news that an envoy had arrived from the king reached Jeyasing. He received the envoy with due honors and had an interview with him. Jeyasing said :- " The Emperor of Delhi is powerful; it is of no use to make an enemy of him. The king should pay him his respects and have an interview with him. I shall take him with me and bring about an interview between him and the Emperor. The king is to me like my son Ràmasing. I will do no mischief or harm to him.' To show that he was sincere and in earnest, he took a few of the Túlsi leaves with which he had worshipped the image of the God Thàkúrji and gave them into the hands of the envoy. He also gave the envoy a present of clothes for himself and for the king that of clothes and jewels with a message to the king that he should come for the interview the same day. The envoy took his departure and returned to Ràjgad where he narrated all that had occurred at the interview. All were pleased; orders were issued to fortify all the strongholds with guns.

28 Dilèlkhàn in the meanwhile learnt that an envoy from the king had arrived in Jeyasing's camp. He was grieved at heart. He said that both Jeyasing and Shivàji were Hindûs and would at last be one. The next day he went to Jeyasing and had an interview with him. Dilélkhan said " What is the use of sitting idle? I am going to capture the

forts of Kondhánà and Púrandhar; and when I capture them, Shivàji will surrender himself-" Jeyasing replied " If you succeed in capturing them, it will be all well arranged; but if the contrary happens, our reputation will be tarnished. It is therefore better to leave the forts to themselves, and to confine our action to the plain. It is of no use to take any force to the forts." At this Dilèlkhàn was much enraged. He left the place saying that he would immediately proceed to capture the fort of Pùrandhar, and if Jeyasing liked it, he might capture Kondhànà. He came to the army and took with him 5,000 Patháns on foot, and 7 or 8,000 bullocks with artillery and a force of 20,000 composed of Pèndhárees, sailors and light-armed men. They commenced the march. The fort of Púrandhar was then commanded by Múràr Báji Prabhù the Sirdàr of the noblemen, who had with him a thousand men. There were a thousand more who were detached for duty on the fort. Mùràr Bàji took with him 700 chosen men and descended from the fort to encounter Dilélkhán. They encountered Dilèlkhán while he and his 5,000 Patháns and bullocks were on the ascent to the fort on all sides, and mixed among them. A bloody battle ensued. Mùràrrow and his men fought desperately. 500 Patháns were killed. The khán's artillery, archers and light-armed men made an attack. Múrár Bàji at the head of his men rushed in the onset with a shield and sword in his hand on Dilèlkhan. When he saw that the choice soldiers in his army fell, he said :- " What is the use of my surviving? The chosen men of the king's army have fallen and shall I live to show my blackened face

to my master the king? It is better to encounter death in the face." So saying he came face to face with Dilèlkhan. The khan said to him:—" Surrender yourself to me and save yourself from death; you are a brave warrior and I admire your courage." To this Múrarji replied:- " We are the servants of king Shivaji; do you expect us to submit to your yoke? " So saying he rushed straight on the khan and was about to give him a sword blow when the khan with a dexterous caper averted it and darting an arrow killed Múrar Baji on the spot. The khan expressed satisfaction and surprise at the brave and valiant conduct of Mùrar Baji. He said " God alone creates such warriors. " 3 Hundred men fell with Múrar Baji,while the remaining four hundred returned to the fort. Dilélkhan took down his turband and said that he would replace it after he had captured the fort and not till then. So saying he marched straight to the gate and sat there under a canopy of the shields. The men in the fort not losing courage when they learnt of Muràr's death, began to fight desperately saying :— " What matters it if one Moorar Baji is killed ?. We are equally brave and shall fight to the last. "

29. The intelligence that Dilèlkhan besieged the fort of Poorandhar and that Moorar Baji fell in the action with his 300 men reached the king at Rajgad. He became anxious and said :- If such a strong fort is falling into the hands of Dilélkhan, other forts would also be reduced without any

effort. It is useless to see the Emperor after the forts are reduced and captured for, it is proper that so long as the forts are in my possession, I should see the Emperor and make over to him with my own hands the forts, if any are to be given and settle the terms of peace." So saying he sent his envoy Raghúnathbhat Punditrao to Jeyasing the Mirzá king to say that he was immediately coming for an interview, as it was not right to do so after Dilèlkhán had taken possession of the fort. The envoy went to Jeyasing with the message. Jeyasing consented and ratified his consent by oaths and solemn pledges. Panditràо returned to Ràjgad. Soon after, the king took with him a thousand chosen men and having made a bow to Shri Shambhù, Shri Bhawáni and to the learned Brahmins in his service and received their blessings, he marched off and came to the camp of Mirzà Ràjá. Panditràо announced the king's arrival. Jeyasing on hearing this immediately walked on foot towards the gate of the camp to receive the king. The king alighted from his palanquin. Both met, and sat on one seat. The king spoke to Mirzá Ràjá:- "I am like your son Rámasing. Protect me as you protect him;" and sat quiet. Jeyasing Rájá then said:- "It is true; you are a Rajpùt; we both are of the same class. I shall forfeit my head if anything treacherous befalls you." With this assurance he took a solemn oath. The king then said:- "I am ready to part with whatever forts you may require; but Dilélkhàn must be recalled. I shall give the fort of Púrandhar to you, and hoist your flag thereon, but would not like to see the infidel victorious." Jeyasing was pleased; he said:- "Dilèlkhàn is a very proud

courtier but a favorite servant of the Emperor. He expects every one to do him homage; you yourself should go to him for an interview. As you are a Rajpút, I shall give with you a more powerful man than Dilèlkhan who will procure the desired interview; you need not entertain any anxiety, as your safety is my greatest concern. You may, if you like, take with you 400 or 500 warriors whom I am ready to place at your disposal." To this Shivàji replied:– "I am Shivàji. Do I fear Dilèlkhàn ? I am ready to have an interview with him, as you promise me safety."

30 So saying he asked leave to depart. The Mirza Ràjà gave with him his uncle Sùbhànsing who was a great warrior, and a strong man, stronger even than the khàn, with instructions to take the king to the khan and bring him back in safety, the Mirza Raja saying he had full confidence in Sùbhánsing's fidelity. Sùbhánsing took with him 50 brave warriors like himself and set off. The king arrived at the gate of Púrandhar where Dilélkhan then was. A message was sent to Dilélkhan that Shivaji had an interview with Mirza Raja and that he had come for one with him (Dilélkhan). At this Dilélkhan was enraged so much so that he bit his wrist. That Shivaji should have seen Mirza Raja and by commencing negociations with him should have given the Raja credit for the victory, both being Rajpúts, and that he should not even have been consulted and thus deprived of the credit due to him—these were the thoughts that tormented him. The king approached. Dilélkhan rose from his seat and advanced; and with anger embraced the king and held him fast in his embrace for a

† Ghutka. Dilèlkhan was a very strong man, as strong as an elephant or even more. He ate as much as an elephant. In stature he was just like the monster * Hidimb; but the king was no less strong. He did not heed in the least this embrace of the khan. After they were disengaged from their embraces, they both took seats. Subhànsing sat near them. On Dilélkhàn's asking him as to when he came he said that he had an interview with Mirzá Rájà and had only just come to have an interview with him (khan). Sùbhansing then said:-"Khanji the king has come; tomorrow he will give away any fort that may be required. The Mirza Raja orders you to descend and return to your camp." The khan was sorely grieved that his intentions were not fulfilled. He said:-"You are officers and must be obeyed; but this fort must be given to me tomorrow; I shall plant my standard and come away." Sùbhansing said:- "The fort is ours, you may come away." Dilèlkhan then kept a guard at the fort and descended to proceed to his camp. Betelnut and leaves were given to the king. Dilèlkhan said:-"You may proceed to Mirza Raja. He is our superior both in age and position; whatever he does is acceptable to us." The king and Sùbhansing then took their departure and came to where the army of Mirza Raja was encamped. Sùbhansing informed the Raja of the king's arrival. Both the Raja and the king dined

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† A period of twenty-four minutes.

* A monster whose death at the hands of Bheem, one of the Pàndows is described in the Máhàbhàrat.

together. A tent was supplied to the king. In the night they had a talk. Mirza Raja said :- "Make over all the forts to the Emperor and proceed to pay your respects to him." The king said:- "I am willing to give you twenty-seven of my forts and to proceed to Delhi for an interview with the Emperor, with my son Sambhaji. I shall obtain from the Emperor the sovereign sway over the Dèkkan." Mirza Raja consented and marched from Poona. The king caused his son Sambhaji to be brought to him and made over twenty-seven forts to the Mongul Emperor; the remaining forts were strengthened and left under the care of Moropant Peishwa, Nilopant Múzumdar, Nétaji Palkar and the king's mother. The king then arranged to proceed to Delhi for an interview with the Emperor. To give intimation of the king's movement to the Emperor, Mirza Raja deputed his envoy to him. The king addressed a petition to the Emperor praying for an interview, which he handed over to his envoy Raghúnathpant Kòrdé, the brother-in-law of Nathùpant Dabir, and despatched him with Mirza Raja's envoy to the Emperor.

31. The Raja and the king then started for Delhi. The Mirza Raja with the king in his company and his army directed their march towards Bijapùr. The Mirza Raja and the king marched in one * Howda. All the viziers respectfully bowed. Dilélkhan would not bow, under the pretence that as both the Raja and the king

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* An uncovered box or chair upon an elephant for the convenience of the riders.

were sitting together, he did not understand to whom to make a bow. They reached Bijapúr. There was peace. They then turned towards Delhi. On the way Mirza Raja said:-"The Emperor is a shrewd politician and full of treachery. What shall we do if he acts treacherously towards both of us on seeing us go to him together? For this reason I shall stop at Aurangabad while you proceed to Delhi. I send a message to my son Ràmsing who is an influential courtier at the Delhi Durbar, to arrange about your interview; you need only go through him and secure for yourself a grant of territory and then return to the Decean. I shall go to Delhi after you leave it and in the meanwhile I shall be out here. You need not apprehend any treacherous conduct on my part as I am here.' So saying he despatched a letter to Ramsing and sent the king away. The king took with him the following kárkúns and attendants:-

Karkùns	Attendants
(I) Niraji Rowji.....	(1) Hiroji Farjand
(2) Dattàji Trimbak ...	(2) Ràghoji Mitra.
(3) Trimbak Sonedèva.	(3) Dawalji Gadgè
(4) Mánkoji Hari Sabnis	1000 Màwlees

3,000 Horsemen

32. With this retinue the king and his son by forced marches proceeded to Delhi. The Emperor when he learnt that Shivàji was coming to him for an interview, despatched orders to all the Fouzdárs and the *Mokàsees in his Dis-

* The farmers of the revenue of villages

tricts, enjoining the former to go to the places where he halted and there pay him respects, to supply him with all the provisions and forage he required and to look after his wants generally. The Fouzdàrs did act according to these instructions and the king reached Delhi after two or three months. Soon after, Rámsing had an interview with him. Raghunathpant Korde the envoy sent first also came in. They had a talk about the Emperor. They said that they could not make out what lurked in the Emperor's mind. Rámsing then returned to the Emperor. The Emperor then assigned to the king a fine building to dwell in, which came to bear his name. Then having waited for an auspicious day, the king proceeded to the interview with the Emperor. The Emperor held his court and armed himself with five weapons, girded up his loins and putting on an armour sat on his throne. He also caused about 2,000 brave men to be seated about the throne apprehending that Shivàji might try the same treacherous feat with which he had destroyed Afzùlkhàn at an interview, as he (Shivàji) was not an ordinary human being but a devil (satan). Ràmsing took with him the king, Sambhàji Ràja the king's son, and ten men selected from his retinue, for the interview. Ramsing and the Emperor exchanged looks. The Emperor asked if the person he introduced was Shivaji. On this question Shivaji made three bows intending one for Shambhù Mahadeo, the other for Shree Bhawani and

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or lands granted on condition of military service or in Inàm.

the third for his father, and stood as he was ordered near Jeshwantsingji Maharaj the king of Marwad–a state yielding a revenue of 9 Crores. The king's son also stood by him. The king asked Ramsing as to who it was by whom he (king) was standing. Ramsing replied that it was Jashwant sing. At this the king was enraged and said there were Oomrows in his own court like Jashwant and asked what the Emperor meant by making him stand behind a man who in position was far inferior. So saying he angrily asked for the dagger with which Ràmsing had armed himself. Ràmsing said:– "Be patient and calm yourself." This noise was overheard by the Emperor who asked what the matter was. Ramsing replied:– "The wild tiger is chafing from heat: nothing else." These words created suspicion in the mind of the Emperor who apprehended serious consequences. He therefore directed Ramsing to take the king to the quarters assigned to him saying that the interview would take place leisurely the next day. The king then accompanied by his son, by Ramsing, and by his followers returned to his dwelling. The Emperor was delighted at the king's departure, observing that a great calamity was averted, as Shivaji's mien showed marks of perturbation. After the king's return to his dwelling, he had a talk with Ramsing. The king said:–"What sort of Emperor is this? I am Shivaji, and should he have made me stand below Jashwant ? The Emperor understands nothing. " Ramsing replied:– "you should not come for an interview: and even if you should, you should keep appearances and retire. After your safe return we shall have acquired a good deal." So saying Ramsing returned to his dwelling.

33 The king then held a council of his kàrkuns, courtiers and Raghúnàthpant Kordé. The king asked:- "What should be done next? I know what sort of reception I have had at the interview with the Emperor. I do not know how I can obtain his leave to return unless I promise to undertake some work for him." He then sent Raghùnàthpant Kórde to the Emperor telling him to make a petition to the Emperor to the effect that as ordered by the Emperor he had come with his son for an interview and that he awaited the Emperor's orders; that if it pleased the Emperor he was ready to serve him by taking possession of the entire Adilsháhi and Kùtubshahi kingdoms, and tendering them to him; that he expected the Emperor to put to test his service as he did that of his other Súbhás. The king also told Raghúnáthpant to draw the Emperor to his secret Council Hall and there discuss with him this topic. Raghùnathpant Kòrde accordingly went to the Emperor the next day with the petition containing the required communication The Emperor read it and his suspicion was aroused; he made the following endorsement thereon:- "Wait a little, and your request will be granted." The envoy returned and told the king accordingly. The king hearing this reply, conjectured that there was suspicion in the mind of the Emperor and that therefore the reply did not appear to him to have been given with a free heart.

34 The same day Shastèkhán sent a message to Jáffarkhàn who was the Diwàn to the present Emperor (the duties however being performed by his Deputy), and who held that post in the time of the Emperor's predecessor also, to the following

effect.:-"Shivàji is very expert in treachery. When he entered my camp, he, jumped forty cubits from the ground and entered the pavilion. If the Emperor were to grant him an interview, he is sure to jump forty or fifty cubits and play foul with him also." Jàffarkhán communicated this message to the Emperor. The Emperor was struck with wonder and his suspicion was now confirmed.

35 The next day the king came to know that Jàffarkhan had poisoned the mind of the Emperor against him. He therefore sent his envoy Raghúnathpant to him to beg an interview. Jaffarkhàn anxiously pondered a long while when he received this communication: and at last consented. The king then went to Jáffarkhan. He was well received. He asked for grants of Inám lands and allowances. The Deewàn did not care to listen with concern. For the sake of appearance only he said "Very well". In the midst of this conversation, Jàffarkhàn's wife, the sister of Shàstèkhán, sent him a message from inside the house that he had better dismiss Shivàji from his presence sooner than he intended to do, as he was the man that had killed Afzúlkhàn, and cut off the fingers of Shástékhan and that it was not unlikely he might similary destroy him. A present of dress and clothes was then made to the king and he was allowed to take his departure. The Diwàn said:-"I will move the Emperor to grant you lands and allowances." The king then returned to his quarters and said:-"Jáffarkhàn also did not speak with a free heart. The will of Shree Bhawàni will prevail."

33 The next day the Emperor sent an army

(Cavalry and infantry) of 5,000 men under Poládkhán the † Kotewàl to keep guard about the quarters where the king had put up. The king was frightened and holding his son Sambhàji to his bosom gave vent to sorrow. Niràjipant, Dattajipant and Trimbakpant consoled him and began to consider what plan ought to be tried next. The goddess Bhawàni then appeared to the king in a dream and said:-"Be not in anxiety. I will take away yourself and your son in safety from this place." This he communicated to his courtiers who were glad to hear it.

37 The next day the king ordered out sweatmeats and other articles worth a thousand or two thousand Rupees, and arranged them in ten baskets made of Bámbús which also he had ordered out. He also hired two laborers for each box. These sweatmeats he sent as presents to the Viziers. The sentries on the guard asked whose boxes they were and where they were going. The laborers replied that the baskets contained sweatmeats which were going as presents from the king to the four Viziers. The sentries opened one or two baskets and found that they really contained sweatmeats. They therefore allowed them to go on. This course was continued for some time. After about a week, the king told his horsemen and kárkùns to effect their escape. They acted accordingly some however still remaining with the king.

38 When this practice had continued for

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† The chief officer of the Police or constabu-

some time, he one evening put Sambhàji his sc into one basket and himself got into another He removed his dress and ornaments and put them on the person of Hiroji Farjand whom he made sleep on his cot, and covering his body with a scarf, only kept his hand bare so as to be seen. He also caused a boy to be in attendance. According to previous arrangements, the karkùns who were already sent away, were waiting for him at a village six miles distant from Delhi. After they had neared the suburbs of Delhi, they alighted from the baskets and went on foot to the village where the kárkúns were stationed. All of them then held a council in the jungle and agreed that to go direct to their own country was not safe as the Emperor's forces would in that case pursue them, and therefore resolved to go to § Wáránasi beyond Delhi. Having formed this resolution, the king, his son Sambháji Raja, Niraji Rowji, Dattaji Trimbak and Ragho Mitra Maratha started. They started for Waranasi in the disguise of † Fakirs and with ashes rubbed to their bodies. The rest were allowed to go wherever they pleased.

39 At Delhi Hiroji Farjand was sleeping on the cot. The people of Poladkhan who were on the guard went to the room and believed that it was the king sleeping with the scarf on his body.

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lary of a town.

§ A name for Benares; derived from the names of two rivulets Warna and Asi, running by the city, the one on the north, the other on the south.

† A Mahomedan mendicant.

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The boy was then pressing Hiroji's feet. They asked the boy as to why the king slept that day so long. The boy replied that the king's body was paining. They therefore returned. Hiroji slept till midday. After waking up, he put on his trousers and turband and came out of the room with the boy, saluted the sentries on the guard; and when they asked him as to why the king slept so long that day, he replied that the king's body was paining and desired them to see that no body disturbed his sleep until he had returned from the Bazàr where he was going for shopping. So saying Hiroji and the boy issued out. They repaired to the camp of Ramasing where Hiroji secretly told him all that had transpired, and left him to take the road to his country.

40 Rámsing then went to the Emperor for an interview. He said to the Emperor that Shivaji was introduced by him; that the Emperor kept him under surveillance not his own (Ramsing's) so that he was now in no way responsible for him. The Emperor answered "you have no concern whatever with him. He is the Emperor's servant and he should expect reception from the Emperor: you have nothing to do in the matter." So saying Rámsing made a respectful bow and retired to his quarters.

41 (The next day) at about nine O'clock the sentries on the guard said "There is no moving to and fro of people today. The servants say that the king is ill, and therefore perhaps no body is coming. What is the matter ?" So saying one of the guards entered the room and saw that there was none on the cot. That the king had ran away

was the conclusion arrived at. Poladkhan carried these tidings to the Emperor. Poladkhan said:- "The king was in the room; we every now and then saw him and notwithstanding he has all of a sudden disappeared. God knows whether he has run away, or penetrated the ground beneath or the skies above, or what other contrivance of escape he has hit upon." The Emperor was surprised to hear this. He fell in anxiety. He summoned his army and sent two lacs and sixty-thousand cavalry to pursue him from all the directions giving them the following instructions:- "Shivaji is very expert in tricks. He must be in the disguise of a Fakeer, or Brahmin mendicant or of a destitute beggar; you must make a strict and careful search after him and discovering him, capture and bring him as a prisoner." The army went in all the directions. The Emperor suspected that the king must have concealed himself somewhere in the town and that he might do him some mischief in the night. He therefore kept a careful lookout and a strong guard of armed men about him night and day and kept himself awake on his cot.

42 The king and his son Sambhaji by rapid marches during nights went to Mathùra. Having made a search in the town to ascertain if there were any acquaintances, they found out Krishnajipant, Kashirao and Wisajipant three brothers who were the brothers-in-law of Moropant Peishwa. Nirajipant recognised them. He went to them and told them all that had occurred. They boldly consented to receive them. Whereupon the king kept his son Sambhaji with them and said:- "As soon as I reach my country, I shall

arrange to send you a letter and a messenger; you must then bring my son with you and accompany him to my country with your families. I shall arrange everything for you and reward your devotion handsomely." Then taking Krishnàjipant one of the brothers with him he started for Wáránasi and desired him to render him the necessary assistance in undertaking that pilgrimage. He reached Wáránasi. He secretly bathed there early at dawn and paid his homage to the god Shri Wishwéshwar. He borrowed large sums of money and spent them in charity. The attendants performed the ceremony usually performed at Gayà on the occasion of a pilgrimage there. He then resolved to return to his kingdom. If he proceeded straight, he thought, he might bring himself face to face with the Emperor's army sent for a search after him. He therefore returned to Ràjgad by Gondàwan, Bhàgánaggar and Beejàpùr. On the way he was on the point of being detected, but Shri Bhawáni brought him safe to his kingdom with Niràjipant, Dattàjipant and Ràghoji Maráthá. Soon after their arrival messengers and letters were sent to Mathúrà. In commemoration of the king's safe return alms were liberally distributed. The king's mother, the kárkùns, the army and the guards on the forts were all pleased; everywhere there was great rejoicing.

43. The king then contemplated to take back the 27 forts ceded to the Mongul. He told Moropant Peishwà, Nilojipant Muzumdàr and Annaji Subnis to try their best and take them saying that the whole kingdom depended upon their exertions. The king in person told the Mawlees

to help in the re-taking of the forts. Tanaji Malsùra who headed a thousand Mawlees promised that he would take the fort of Kondhana. He was presented with clothes and betel nut &ca. He took with him 500 chosen men for the enterprise and approached the fort and during night time 300 of them scaled the sides of the fort like so many monkeys. Two brave and sturdy Mawlees first went up and then they helped the others to get there. The fort was then under the command of a Rajpùt named Udébhan. His followers who were Rajpùts brought him news that the enemy's men had appeared. They armed themselves, girt up their loins and lit up torches and let off fireworks. Swordsmen with shields in their hands, archers, gunners and others all making up 1200 men came to the front. The Mawlees then raised their war cry of "Shri Mahadeva" and penetrated the forces of the Rajputs. A bloody battle ensued which lasted for three hours. 500 Rajputs fell. Udèbhan and Tanaji Malsura confronted each other. Both were brave warriors. With swords in their hands they inflicted wounds on each other. The shield in the left hand of Tanaji was cut off. Another could not be procured to replace it at the time. He then made his left hand the shield. A desperate conflict ensued between the leaders. Each one received and inflicted sword blows on the other. At last both fell in the action. Ramaji Malsúra the brother of Tanaji Malsùra with courage came to the rescue of his men and killed several Rajputs some of whom died by leaping from over the fort walls. 1200 Rajpúts were killed in all. The fort was captured. He then set fire to the stables on the fort. The king saw the light from Rajgad

and was pleased to find that the fort was taken. The next day a messenger brought news to the king that Tànáji Málsùrà fought desperately, killed Udèbhàn the commander of the fort, and having taken it, himself fell in the action. The king said:- "one fort is taken, but the other is lost." (alluding to the loss of Tànàji.) He felt for Tanaji's loss. The fort was taken possession of. He applauded the courage of his brother Ràmaji (also called Súryáji) Malsúra and gave him his brother's post. He presented gold armlets to the soldiers, riches, and rich clothes to all the men and thus pleased them. Thus was the fort of Kondhànà taken. Moropant Peishwa, Nilopant and Annajipant with the help of the Mawlees captured and took the 26 forts surrendered in peace to the Mongul, within four months. Faithful men were chosen to be the garrison on the forts and Subnis and Surnobat appointed over them. The king then bégàn to manage his state affairs. In the meanwhile Krishnájipant, Kashirao and Wisajipant the three brothers from Mathùra to whom messengers and letters were sent arrived with Sambhàji and their families at Rajgad. Sambhaji was given a Janwa (the sacred thread worn by Brahmins) and a dégoji (Dhotar) and called by them their nephew. The father and the son met. There was great joy. The three brothers were applauded and they received the title of "Trimbakrao" and a present of 2 lacs and an allowance of 10,000 Hones. The rich were given high posts in the state. Mokasa allowances were granted. For his labors and sufferings Nirajipant who had accompanied the king and who was a Brahmin from the Nizam's kingdom, well up in morals, politics and a knowledge of law was made

a Judge to administer justice in the king's dominions. Nirajipant's son Pralhádapant who was then a boy was taken to the king to pay him his respects. The king said:- "the boy shows promising signs; he will be on officer." The king was contemplating as to what appropriate post should be conferred on Dattàjipant, when in the meanwhile Gangajipant † Waknis having died his post fell vacant and was conferred on Dattàjipant. He was reckoned among the Sirkàrkúns. Ràgho Mitra was appointed as the head of the Huzur Establishment. All those persons who had endured fatigue and privations in the king's company were applauded.

44. The king then engaged chosen men to be about his palanquin with the intention that on occasions of danger which were possible as he was an enemy of the four Emperors, they might prove useful. He then made a careful search in the Mawlees and having chosen the best men made them into parties each under an independent chieftàn as follow:—

Parties composed of 100 men each.
Parties composed of 60 men each.
Parties composed of 40 men each and
Parties composed of 30 men each.

Two thousand best Mawlees were chosen and thus distributed into parties. Some of these were

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† The duty of this officer was to keep the private accounts, records and letters. He was a superintendent of the household troops and establishment. He is the provider or caterer and the manager generally of the business of the household; he thus corresponds well with Major domo.

armed with guns, some with spears; while others with daggers and large swords. All these men were supplied with turbands wrought with gold, for the head, and scarfs for their bodies. Gold armlets adorned both the arms of some; silver ear-rings were also used; the scabbards had their mountings, fastenings and trappings of gold and silver. The guns had their barrel-rings of gold; so also the spears. All these were furnished to the men at the king's expense. All wore uniform dresses. These two thousand Mawlees were always with the palanquin. Each one excelled the other in bravery. 1,000 horsemen, § Joomledàrs and other men all together formed a retinue of 2,500 persons. They were instructed to be always armed and to be walking with the palanquin on all sides.

45. The fort of Panhàllà which then belonged to the Adilshai kingdom was captured, the king remaining at Rájgad. In the meanwhile Siddijore vizier from Beejápùr with 20,000 cavalry besieged the fort. As the fort was very recently captured, there was no sufficient time left to fortify it. Letters were however sent to Nétaji Palker the Commander-in chief of the king's forces to go to Uprálà with the army and kill Siddijore. But the Commander-in-chief was at a distance with his forces, and he could not therefore arrange to be in time at Upràlá. Under these circumstances the king considered it prudent to deliver the fort to Siddijore who took possession of it and encamped there.

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§ The officer who was entrusted with the accounts of the Revenue Department.

46. The king then summoned Nétáji Pàlkar to him and finding fault with him for not having attended his call in time, removed him from his office of Sarnobat (commander-in-chief of the forces). Kadtoji Gùjar who was Sarnobat of Rajgad was then appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces, under the appellation of Pratap-rào. During Pratápráo's tenure of office all the Maráthàs of 96 Marátha families who were in the four Badshahi kingdoms and all those who were in the Districts were gathered, the best of them were selected, horses were purchased, stables built and * shilèdars were enrolled. In this way the Maráthàs established themselves in the four Badshahi kingdoms. The king after his safe flight from Delhi with his son, and return to his own country captured 27 forts within four months.

47. Aurungzebe who came to learn of these exploits of the king became anxious. He called his eldest son Shaha Alum to him and amongst other things said to him:– "Shivàji can not be taken by force of arms. You go and stay at Aurangabad and form friendship and peace with him. If he does not come for an interview, it might be dispensed with; and making large grants of allowances either in his name or in that of his son, engage his army in our service. Whatever the king wants whether it be a grant of lands or territory, money, riches or military stations, it may be given to him, and by these and similar means engage him in our service. Do this and everything

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* A horse soldier who provides his own horse and arms.

will have been gained." So saying he placed sixty to seventy thousand horsemen at the Shàhà's disposal and despatched him. By forced marches the Shaha reached Aurangábad and sent messengers, letters and envoys to the king at Ràjgad. The king read the letters and was pleased to see that they contained an offer of peace. He then deputed Raghùnàthpant Kordè to Aurangabad with presents of rich clothes and jewels to the Shaha. Raghúnáthpant had an interview having been hospitably received by the Sháhà. A secret council was held where among other things the Shàha said:- "The king is my brother. We should be on friendly terms with each other. The king should come for an interview. I shall grant special allowances in favor of his son. The king should also give a force of horsemen to serve under us as also a rich Brahmin. We shall make grants and allowances of lands. The king should not make inroads on the Emperor's territory, but be in harmony with him." He then caused a grant of riches to be made in favor of Sambhaji as also the territory of Berars which yielded a revenue of 15 lacs of Hones and having made a present of the best horses and clothes to the envoy gave him leave to depart with a present of the best jewels and clothes for the king.

48. After his return Raghunathpant had an interview with the king and laid before him the jewels and clothes presented by the Shàhajada and told him about the grant of riches and territory (to Sambhaji). The king listened attentively and said:- "I can not endure to be an enemy of the Emperor of Beejapúr, Bhaganagarkars and the Mongal. Mine is a newly established kingdom, and

that too torn asunder by recent two or three invasions. It is therefore better to form an alliance with one of these enemies, to hold courage for two years more and then act as the tide of events dictates." Thus resolving to make peace with the Mongul (of Delhi) he placed a force of 5,000 horsemen under Pratâprào the Surnobat and sent them to the Shàhà giving with them Nirájipant Sirkàrkùn, the principal officers of the Surnis and Pralhádpant who was the son of Nirájipant and who was made the Subnis of the army, as also Rowji Somenàth kárkún who was intended to be the Súbhèdár of any portion of the territory which the Sháhàjàdá might give as a grant. Peace was made with the Mongul. The grant to Sambhàji was accepted; and Niràjipant and Pratáprào went to Aurangàbàd.

49. The Sháhà received them with the greatest honors and assigned to them a spot for their quarters. He also made all of them presents of elephants, horses, jewels and clothes. He gave as Jehageer the Berars which yielded a revenue of 15 Lacs of Hones. Rowji Somenàth was appointed Súbhédàr over this portion of the country. All the people received a good deal of money and other valuables. The Sháhàjàdá informed all this by letter to the Emperor at Delhi. He was much pleased with the information. He was glad that his territory was now safe. The Emperor's army was at Aurangàbád for two years. The king had now leisure to collect the revenue due to him from the country made over to him, as well as from his own. Some of the Adilshahi forts and country were captured. The Shàhà and the king became thick friends; they exchanged presents.

50. This information was carried to the Emperor at Delhi by some of the followers of the Shâhâ who were at Aurangâbad. The Emperor became anxious. He thought that as the Shaha and the king had become friends they might prove disloyal to him and rise in mutiny against him. He therefore resolved to create dissension among them and with this object wrote to the Shaha to say that Shivaji was a rogue, and that as his commanders Prataprao and Nirajipant were with their armies, the Shaha should not trust them; that it was not unlikely they might play foul at Dowlatabad; that the Shaha should therefore imprison them and remove all their horses to the stables and that he should not neglect to carry out these instructions. The Shaha's envoy who was at the Emperor's court immediately sent these tidings to the Shaha with a warning to be on his guard and act cautiously.

51. The Shaha having received this message, communicated it to Prataprao and Nirajipant whom he had called to a secret conference for the purpose; and having presented them with rich clothes, jewels and silver asked them to depart saying:- "you should flee to the king tomorrow in the night with your armies. You need not care for your valuables if they remain behind, as they will be duly sent to you within three or four days, or you might come and take them away. After receipt of the Emperor's letter I shall have to imprison you. The sooner you leave therefore the better." Nirajipant and Prataprao returned to their camps, gave secret instructions to their armies to make the necessary preparations to depart and all left

the place the next day. By forced marches they came to the king and had an interview with him and showed him the treasure, clothes and curious ornaments and other articles which they had brought with them. The king was pleased. He said:- "For two years the army well maintained itself, and I made a personage like the Shahajada my friend. Both these objects I have gained I am now at liberty to start with my army." The king's army accordingly went to Aurangabad.

52. A week after, letters addressed to the Shaha were received from the Emperor. The Shaha read them and said:- "The Marathas are rogues. They have already run away; it is now a week. Had they been present now, I should have imprisoned them." He then sent a reply to the Emperor saying that he would have acted in obedience to the Emperor's instructions but that he regretted that as the Marathas had run way a week before the receipt of the Emperor's letters, he had no opportunity of arresting and imprisoning them. The Emperor was surprised at this intelligence. He said:- "The Marathas are liars."

53. In the meanwhile Prataprao and the king had an interview. Horsemen were equipped. They went on destroying the enemy's army which invaded their territory, and devastating the Mongul's territory. Rustumjama the vizier from Beejapûr laid siege to the fort of Rangna which belonged to the king, with 7 or 8 thousand men. The men in charge of the fort fought desperately. The king sent them succour and Rustumjama was slain and the fort defended. After Rustumjama's death Abdul Kareem and Belolekhan viziers from Beeja-

battle ensued which lasted for six hours. The Marathas fought well. Three thousand Monguls were slain; four thousand horses fell in the battle. Two Mongul Viziers were captured: the Maráthas were thus victorious. On their return march the king and his forces were opposed by Raibagin the widow of Jagjeewan Oodéram the son of Oodèram one of the Mongul Viziers, with a force of 5,000 horsemen at Oodilkhind. These horsemen were routed; Raibagin was hemmed in. She then swore allegiance to the king, saying she was his daughter, and promised him fealty. After her subjugation the king returned to Rajgad.

55. After his return the booty from Sùrat was counted and it was found that five crores of Hones and four thousand horses were got in the bargain. These horses were branded with a square mark on their right hips and were reserved for purposes of warfare. All the forts belonging to the Adilshahi and Nizamshahi governments were subsequently captured; several of the impregnable hill fortresses were reduced, and new ones were built in several places on the understanding that owing to their absence the districts suffered from foreign invasions. The country in the Konkan from Kalyan and Bhewndi to Ràjàpúr was reduced to subjugation. The Deshmookhs and others who opposed his course and offered battle were vanquished. Those who swore allegiance were properly rewarded and protected. At this time the fort of Rewdanda which was situated in the Ràjpúri waters and which belonged to the Nizàmshahi government was held by the Habshi who reigned there supreme. He

possessed forty or fifty ships of war, and had plundered the country around. His people began to molest the Ryots in the king's dominions. The king therefore appointed Dàji Pasàlkar over a force of from one to two thousand Mawlees to look after his Ryots. Dàji was a great warrior. His mustachios were as long and thick as a human arm from the shoulder to the elbow, and when he twisted them, he could hold a lemon in each extremity.

56. In the meanwhile Káyasàwat came from Rájpùri with a force of 5,000 men to fight. Both Káyasàwat and Dàji Pasálkar were valiant soldiers. They confronted each other and fought desperately and having inflicted 25 wounds on each other fell dead. Their armies then returned to their quarters.

57. At this time Máhárájá Sháháji the king's father had a fall from his horse while he was going to Beejápùr, at Bodegiri a village situated in the foreign country of Chitradoorg, and died. When this intelligence reached the king, he was grieved. He gave vent to lamentations and performed the funeral ceremonies and rites and distributed alms profusely. The king said :-" Had my sire remained to see my exploits, it would have been better. To whom shall I now show them? When I destroyed Afzúlkhàn, defeated Shástékhàn, went to the Emperor at Delhi with Mirzà Ràjà and after my flight captured several forts and towns and formed an army of 40,000 shilédars and horsemen, my sire was thoroughly pleased and satisfied and in token of his satisfaction frequently sent me presents of rich clothes

and ornaments. I have no elder now in the family." The king's mother was about to burn herself on a funeral pyre when the king sat on her lap and with his arms folded around her neck and with oaths importuned her to desist from so doing. The king and other officers of the state prevailed upon her to abandon the idea, the king saying:- "As there is no elderly person now left to witness my exploits you at least remain to do it."

58. The king now began to consider the best means of overthrowing the Siddi of Ràjpúri of whose ruin he now became as anxious as one is of destroying a mouse which has become troublesome in his house. Raghunath Ballal Subnis voluntarily proferred his services and undertook to make an invasion on the Siddi. He therefore took with him 7,000 Mowlees and marched towards Ràjpúri. On his way he plundered and reduced Talè, Ghosàlè, and other towns and made clear all the country as far as the seacoast and Rajpúri and killed one or two forces of the Siddi that were sent to oppose him. The Siddi entered into negoc ations for peace. He begged a certain portion of territory for himself, and sent respectable men with solemn pledges to fetch Raghunathpant to him for an interview. Raghùnathpant accordingly came to the interview. Peace was made. Presents of clothes aud horses were made to him and he then returned to his own country. After a few days Raghùnathpant died and soon after the alliance made by the Siddi became null and void. The Habshi (Siddi) changed his conduct and molested the king's Ryots. The king then sent Vyankoji Dattoji with an army. Vyan-

koji plundered the Siddi territory and reduced and confiscated it. The Siddi then sent an army composed of his own men, horsemen and followers to attack Vyankoji Dattoji. They met and a battle was fought in which Vyankoji killed with his own hand 300 Habshees and some horses. He fought very hard and received 12 wounds. The Siddi wished to make peace but the king would not. In his kingdom new forts were rising in several places. A hill tribe near Ràjpúri which had become powerful was reduced, forts were erected in its vicinity, the adjacent country was brought under the yoke and from 5 to 7,000 followers were stationed in different quarters. The Siddi was thus rendered powerless and deprived of the Ràjapùri territory. He then by means of the ships which he owned devastated other countries and maintained himself on their pillage. The king to check him caused a variety of ships to be built and placed them under a chieftain named Daryàsárang who was made Sùbhédár. Nearly two or three hundred ships were got ready with one Sùbhèdár over each. Frequent were the fights that ensued between these and those of the Siddi in which the latter were routed. The Siddi at last conveyed provisions stealthily. The king's ships went on ravaging the seacoast towns of Budnoor, Sodey, Shrirangpattan and others which belonged to the Mongals, Firangees, Walandees, the English and the Kilatab who then had the mastery over the sea. They fought in several places and maintained themselves on the pillage they got which they took to the king. The number of ships at last rose to 700. The king thus came to possess an army over the sea as it were. This was in his estimation a great acqui-

sition. He was sorry that Rájpùri situated in the waters still remained to the Nizámshàhi Government and that therefore the name of that Government also still remained. If therefore forts were built on hills in the sea, he thought, the supremacy over the waters would be acquired and those that reigned supreme over them would be held under proper check. He also thought that his name would remain after his death as long as these forts existed. Having formed this idea he caused innumerable forts to be built on the plain, over the hills in the sea and in islands.

59. At this time in the Kúdál territory in the Konkans there was a Desài whose name was Lakhamsàwat and who had grown very powerful. He possessed an army of 12,000 men. The Kùdál territory belonged to the Adilshàhi Government. He sent a word to the Beejápùr Government that if supplied with an army of horsemen and others, he would with their assistance and with that of his own men undertake an invasion over the king and thus relieve the Konkan from his grasp. On receipt of this message Kháwaskhan the commander of the forces who was a great warrior was sent from Beejapúr to Kùdal with a force of 10,000 men. These combined with the men of Lakhamsáwat and went on relieving the Konkan. The king learnt of their progress; he made a seleotion of his own men and proceeded against the combined armies. Baji Ghorepadè who was coming from Beejàpúr for the assistance of Kháwaskhàn with 1,500 horsemen was taken by surprise. A bloody battle was fought in which Baji Ghorepadé was killed with his brothers and others and 12,00 horses. The king then resolved to march against Khàwaskhán and

deal with him as he had dealt with Baji Ghorepadé. But Kháwaskhàn having in the meanwhile learnt of Bàji Ghorepadè's overthrow and the total annihilation of his army was terrified; he therefore took to flight and returned straight to Beejàpúr. The king then obtained a victory over Lakhamsàwat, routed his army and killed many. Lakhamsàwat left the Kùdàl territory and ran to that of the Firangees. The Kùdàl territory was ravaged by the king. The Firangees who feared the king would not allow him to remain in their territory. He then commenced negociations with the king and for that purpose deputed Pitàmbar a Shenvi (a fish eating class of the Brahmins) as an envoy to the king and having sworn allegiance personally came for the king's interview. He said to the king that he was a kith and kin of the Bhosalè and that therefore it was right for him to expect the king's protection. The king then granted him the Deshmookhi right over Kúdál and an allowance of 6,000 Hones on the condition that he was not to build a compound fortified with ramparts and towers and that he was to remain in Kùdal without any retinue or a crowd of followers. His sirdars Ràm Dalvi and Tàn Sawat the king provided for by giving them commands over 1,000 men of his own army and kept three servants of his own stationed in three different places in the Kùdal territory. Lakham Sawat was thus prevented from having an interview even with his own Sirdars and the conquest of the Kúdal territory was complete.

60. The fort at Fondè belonged to the Adàlshahi Government and was commanded by Mobatkhan a valiant and powerful soldier. This fort

was besieged by the king's forces and blown up. Mobatkhan was reduced and permitted to return to Beejapúr. Ibrahimkhan a brave Musulman Sirdar of the king's forces who had accompanied the king did several exploits and captured several forts situated in the Konkan, and over the Ghauts as also the territory from Gokarn Mahableshwar to Supè over the Ghauts. He also threatened the Portuguese Government at Goa and obtained from them guns, cash and jewels and forced them to accept a lease for carrying on their trading business. Thus he overran the whole of the Konkan.

61. At this time there ruled at Bidnur one Shivappa Naik. Bidnur was a celebrated place. The king sent spies and having learnt from them that there was no passage from over the ghauts by which they could reach that town, he prepared his ships, sailed with his army and appeared suddenly before the town at day break. The inhabitants were taken unawares. The army landed and plundered the town for one whole day. Jewels, clothes and other valuable articles were got in the booty and were as numerous as those got in the booty when Surat was plundered. The king then returned to his territory. The whole booty was worth 2,00,00,000 (two crores) Hones.

62. The king then directed his attention towards Karanjé a big town in the Mogalài Government. Spies who were sent having returned with the requisite information, the king marched at the head of his army and on his way pillaged the streets of Aurangabad and Barhanpúr and over ran seven other towns and appeared before Karanjè. He halted there and plundered that

town for three days, causing hidden treasure to be dug out from big edifices. He returned with a large booty which consisted of cash, jewels, gold, silver and rich cloth. The Mongul commanders Dilèlkhàn, Báhàdoorkhán, Ekhlàskhán, Bèlolekhan and Indramani attacked the king from all sides with their armies composed of from 10 to 12 thousand men each. A bloody battle ensued, the Monguls were routed and several of them killed in the action; elephants, horses, camels and other property were captured. The enemy's leaders being defeated returned covered with shame. The king returned with his army to Rajgad safe. Dilelkhan with a force of 12,000 men followed him from a distance of 10 to 12 villages as far as the shores of the river Bheema. The king after his return counted the booty and found that it was worth seven crores of Hones.

63. He then captured the fort of Rairigad which belonged to the Adilshahi kingdom. The king found that it was a capital fort and was pleased with it. The ramparts on its four sides were quite perpendicular and impregnable, very high and seemed as if the whole was one compact mass of stone carved out so that no grass grew thereon during the rains. He compared it with the fort of Dowlatàbàd which he said was no doubt an excellent fort on the face of the earth, but that it was less in height, while this fort was ten times loftier. He therefore determined to make it the seat of his throne. With this resolution he caused houses, compounds, apartments for the rich officials of his Court, palaces for the queens, big edifices stables for elephants, horses, cows, and quarters for the Sirkárkùns and the Commanders of his

forces, as well as storehouses, rooms for carriages and palanquins to be built in the fort. Out of the king's six wives Soirábài the daughter of Mohite, gave birth to a male child. The child came out of the womb with his face turned towards the ground. When the king learnt this, he profesied that the child would overthrow the empire of Delhi. The astrologers presaged that he would be a powerful monarch and would be more famous than king Shivâji himself. The king named his child Ràjárám, and said that Ràjàràm would keep his subjects happy; that he would achieve deeds more chivalrous than his own and would be more popular, and that he alone would be the person to preserve and prolong the fame he himself had acquired. The king distributed alms. At this time Moropant Peishwa captured some forty forts situated between the fort of Trimbak and that of Saleri, built new ones, overran the territory of Kolewan, took Rámanaggur and Jowahir and built forts there also.

64. The Emperor of Delhi was exceedingly grieved to hear that Súrat, Bidnùr, Karangé, Barhánpúr and Aurangàbàd were plundered, that Saleri and all other forts were captured and that Khandeish, Bàglan, Guzerat and the Berars were being settled by the enemy. "What should be done? he said; lacs of horsemen I sent and all of these the enemy routed and defeated. Whom shall I send next? Were I to send the Shàhájáda, there is fear of his uniting with the enemy and capturing Delhi itself. Were I to go in person, the fate that overtook Shàstèkhan might perhaps be mine and who would help me then? It is therefore better that so long as Shivàji is alive

I should not stir out of Delhi." So saying he called to him Ikhlaskhan and Belolekhan and sent them to Saleri with a force of 20,000 men with instructions to capture the fort. He also sent Dilelkhan with 10,000 horse to Rowla Jowla to capture the fort there. After Delèlkhan's arrival at the fort a bloody battle was fought; the men in charge of the fort fought desperately. Delélkhan did not succeed in taking it. Moropant Peishwa sent a reinforcement of 1,000 Mawlees who surprised the enemy. Ramji Pangera wh commanded a 1,000 Mawlees gave a battle to Dilelkhàn at the fort of the Kunéra fort. Ramji Pangera harangued his men and asked those who were willing to fight to the last, to come forward and all of them fought desperately on foot and hemmed in the enemy's forces. The battle lasted for nearly three hours and the men on both sides fought as vigorously as if they were so many comrades playing the † "Tipri" play in the Shimga festivities. Delèlkhàn's 1,200 Patháns resisted the Mawlees; at last Ràmji Pàngèra and his 700 followers received on their bare bodies from 20 to 30 wounds each from the enemy's swords and arrows and thus fell. It was a bloody battle and Délelkhan was struck with admiration at the heroic conduct of the Mawlees.

65. Ikhlàskhán encamped at the foot of the fort of Saleri and laid siege to it. When this

† A festival amongst cowherds consisting of songs and dances and lively sporting; especially the circular dance as performed by Krishna and the Gopis or cowherdesses.

intelligence reached the king he sent letters and messengers to Pratàprao his Commander-in-chief whom he had sent into the Mongul territory with an army directing him to proceed to Saleri up the Ghats with his army and attack Belolekhan and defeat him and intimating to him that Moropant Peshwa would also attack him from the other side so that he expected both to attack the enemy simultaneously from both the sides. Patapa-rao and Moropant accordingly reached Saleri with their armies. The cavalry rushed into the enemy's army from one side, the Mawlees rushed from the other and a general onset ensued. The battle raged fiercely. It lasted for about twelve hours. Several of the Monguls, Pathàns and Rajpùts fell. The dust on the ground flew to the skies so that for six square miles everything was veiled in obscurity and neither friend nor foe could be identified so intense was the ardour with which both the armies fought. 10,000 men fell on both the sides. Innumerable elephants, camels and horses were killed. The battle field was all besmeared with pools of blood. Six thousand horses, one hundred and twenty-five elephants countless numbers of camels and bullocks of the enemy were captured as also immense treasure, jewels, ornaments, clothes and beddings. Twenty-two high Viziers were captured alive, Ikhlàs-khan and Belolekhan were routed. One or two thousand of the enemy's forces effected their escape by flight. In this battle Pratáprào, Anand-rao, Vyankojipant, Rúpaji Bhoselè, Súryáráo Kàkdé, Sidoji Nimbalkar, Khandoji Jagtab, Gond-ji Jagtab, Santaji Jagtab, Mànàji Morè, Wissaji Ballál, Moro Rangnath, Makúnd Ballàl, and other officers played a very prominent part. The Mawlees

and their leaders also behaved well. Moropant Peishwa and Pratápráo the Commander-in-chief especially exerted their utmost. Sùryàràò Kàkdé the valiant leader of a detachment of 5,000 men also fought well, and fell dead by a canon ball. Sùryárào was not an ordinary personage. Like *Karna of the Mahábhàrat he was a valiant and brave warrior. Many other illustrious leaders fell. The king's forces were thus victorious in this battle.

66. Moropant Peishwa and Pratàprao Surnobat communicated the intelligence of this victory to the king .The king was overjoyed when he learnt it. Guns were fired and sugar was distributed in token of the rejoicing. The messengers who brought the intelligence were presented with gold armlets and immense treasure was given as reward to Prataprao Surnobat, Moropant Peishwa and Vyankàjipant. The leaders of Mawlee detachments of 1,000 and 5,000 men were also rewarded and applauded. The king then sent directions to supply clothes and horses to the Viziers who were captured and to release them. The Peishwa, the Surnobat and other leaders gladly received these orders and released Bélolekhàn and other captured Viziers furnishng them with clothes and horses. Dilélkhan who was on a distance of four marches from Saleri ran away when this intelligence reached him.

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* Karna who was a very great warrior was one of the heroes of the Máhàbhárat the great Sanscrit epic. He sided with the Kowrows. In the long war that lasted between the Pandus and the Kowrows he was killed by Arjun the 3d of the Pandus.

67. The Emperor at Delhi became uneasy when the news of the defeat of his forces reached his ears. For three days he did not leave his room and would not eat. He gave vent to expressions of sorrow and said:- "The Lord God, it appears, has already wrested the supreme power inherent in the Emperor of Delhi and hitherto in the hands of Musulmans, and delivered it to Shivàji. It would be better if death snatches me away before Shiváji ceases to exist, as I can not now endure the anxiety I feel from his exploits." Bahádùrkhàn Kokà the brother of the Emperor came forward and consoled him saying that the Emperor need not be in anxiety and that he might rule at Delhi in peace as he was ready to march against Shivàji and to keep him in awe, and to try by all possible means to deter his army from making inroads on the Emperor's territories. So saying he prevailed upon the Emperor to take his seat on the throne. The Emperor applauded Bahádúrkhan's spirit and presented him with clothes, ornaments, his own necklace and the head ornament which he wore over his turband and which was inlaid with diamonds; two elephants, horses and immense treasure. He then placed at his disposal 70,000, horsemen and gave him an order addressed to Dilelkhan the commander of the Emperor's forces. Such was the vast army that marched from Delhi towards the south against the king.

68. The king learnt of these preparations. He said:- "Bahàdùrkhan is an insiginficant being like a tame cattle. What else is he? Who should fear him? He will require two years to arrive in my kingdom." Annáji Dattú surnis in the meanwhile

gave orders to Màlsàwat the leader of a detachment of 1,000 Mawlees to attack the fort of Panhallà which belonged to the Adilshahi Government. The fort was accordingly taken. Similarly the forts of Satàrá, Chaudan, Wandan, Nandgiri and Parli were captured. The king left Rajgad to see personally the forts and the country. On his way he took the forts of Wai, Karhád, Sirala and Kolhapur and captured the country as far as Hookèri and Ràibág. The territory he thus acquired extended over a large area and he now considered it necessary to make arrangements for administering and governing it. For this purpose he made over the country from Kalyan Bhewendi to Kolewan and Saleri over the Ghauts, the Konkan, Lohegad, Joonur and the twelve Mavals from the Harala Ghaut, to Moropant Peishwa. Similarly that portion of the country which comprised Chewool, Dabhole śubha, Rajpuri, Kùdal, Khorè and Akolè was made over to Annajipant. The country over the Ghauts from Wai to Tapti and Túngbhadra rivers was assigned to Dattopant who was to remain at the fort of Panhalla, Such was the distribution of the territory. He also kept from five to seven Brahmin Súbhèdars in the territory obtained by conquest from the Mongul government, who were to obey the orders of the Peishwa. He also appointed karkuns over the forts. The Sirkarkuns appointed over the portions of the territory so distributed were to regulate the allowances of deserving men placed under them. The † Mùtaliks of the Sirkarkuns remained with

† The term Mutalik was applied to the deput of any person holding a hereditary office, actin

the king. The Sirkarkuns were to visit the king once every year bringing with them the accounts of revenue collections and expenditure of the country under them as also the amount of collections paid to them by their subordinates.

69. Abdul Karim Bèlolekhan now marched from Beejapur against the king with 12,000 cavalry. This intelligence reached the king who issued orders to Prataprao and summoned the whole army. The king addressed them in the following terms:- "Bèlolkhan of Beejapur is displaying great agitation; destory him and be victorious." The army accordingly marched against the Nabab and encountered him near Ubrani. He was hemmed in on all sides by the king's forces. A fierce battle ensued which lasted till sunset. At last the Nabab who could no longer endure the pangs of thirst went to a spot where water was procurable and drank it there. Returning thence he secretly informed Prataprao the commander-in-chief that he did not march against him out of his own will but in obedience to the Emperor's orders and that thenceforth he was one of Prataprao's own men and that he would on no account enter into hostilities with the king. By these and other conciliatory expressions he succeeded in effecting peace. The king learnt this and expressed his disapprobation of the measure. He was angry with the army and warned them to be careful in future asking:- "What for was peace made?" Prataprào with his army now penetrated into the Mongul's territory and having overrun and

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for him in his absence and allowed to use his seal.

pillaged Bhâganuggur, Deogad, Ramgiri, and Bajèdèsh returned to his head quarters. In the meanwhile Nilo Sonedeo the Muzumdàr who was with the king died. His duties were therefore ordered to be performed by his younger son Ràmchandrapant who was a competent person and a great favorite of the king who loved him for his qualifications and who always said that he would be a thousand times more illustrious than his father. Nàropant the elder son of the deceased Muzumdár was not so competent and he was therefore only nominated to the post vacated by the death of his father.

70. Subsequently Bèlolekhàn was sent by the Emperor of Beejápùr into the Panhállá territory. When the king learnt of his arrival there he sent a message to Pratàpráo telling him that as Bélolekhàn repeated his incursions often, he (Pratàprào) had better encounter him with his whole army and destroy him, and that if he failed to do this he had not show the king his face. Pratàprào accordingly marched with his whole army and encountered the Nabob at Jesri. A bloody battle ensued in which Prataprao fell by the blow of a sword. Bèlolekhan then retreated to Beejapùr and the king's forces encamped below Panhalla.

71. The intelligence of Prataprao's death was received by the king with great sorrow. He said:- "This day I have lost one side; I desired Pratáprao that if he failed he had not show me his face. He has done so and acquired glory. How is the army to be managed now? Who should be appointed Commander- in chief? So

saying he went to the army and taking it with him repaired to Chiplún a sacred place situated in the Konkan where Parshùrám once reigned. He then had an inspection of his army and distributed treasure amongst his officers, cavalry and infantry. There was in the army one Esji Mohité a Jumlédàr who in consideration of his bravery, patience and other soldierly qualifications in which he excelled was appointed the Commander-in-chief under the designation of "Hambeerráo". The whole army was placed under him.

72. Soon after this Bahádùrkhan and Dilelkhan marched from Delhi with their forces and arrived at Ahmednuggar. When the king learnt of their arrival he gave intimation to his officers in charge of the strongholds, and having caused them to be fortified remained on his guard. He then secretly sent letters and messengers to Nabab Bahàdùrkhan saying:- "Accept sums of money and then act as you choose." At the same time he gave orders to his army, and Hambeerràо in obedience to those orders penetrated at the head of his army into the territory of the Mougul government and having overrun Khandeish, Baglan, Guzerath, Ahmedàbád, Berhanpùr, the Berars, Mahúr and the country as far as the Narmadà river and Jalnapúr, levied tribute and confiscated them. He obtained immense booty and began his march. Bahadúrkhan with all his forces pursued him. When he had a glimpse of the king's forces he was afraid and slackened his course so as to be behind them on a distance of seven or eight villages. Dilelkhan became impatient and approached the king's forces. Hambeerrao did not heed him. By force of his arms he returned with the booty

to his country and placed it before the king.

73. At this time Gàgábhat having heard of the king's fame came from Benares to have an interview with him. Gagabhat was a stern and pious ascetic, a competent scholar and had studied the four Vèdas and six Shastras. He was also conversant with astrology and practised the *Yoga. In fact he was expert in every science so that he may justly be styled the †Brahmadéva of the §Kaliyuga. On his arrival the king walked a few paces to meet him on the way and received him with the greatest honors. He worshipped him in a variety of ways with offerings of jewels, ornaments, palanquins, horses, elephants and immense treasure. Gagabhat was highly pleased. He was rather uneasy that while the Mahomedan Emperor sat on the throne under a ¶Chhatra, king Shivaji who had overawed the governments of the four Emperors and possessed three-fourths

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*Yoga means spiritual or abstract devotion: union with Brahma through abstract meditation or contemplation: also the practice or exercise of this sort of worship for which several attitudes or postures of the body are prescribed.

†The first God of the Hindu triad.

§Kaliyuga means the fourth age of the world; the iron age or that of vice. It commenced according to some, 300, according to others 3,101, according to others 1,370 years before the Christian era. Its duration is through 4,32,000 years: at the expiration of which period the world's existence is to cease.

¶ A large and lofty parasol usually of red silk held over a king.

of a lac of cavalry and infantry, forts and strongholds should have no throne and other insignia of honor enjoyed by the Musulman Emperors. He therefore expressed his opinion that the Maráthà king should use all those insignia. The king approved of it. All the rich were consulted and they also concurred in the opinion and liked the idea. The king's genealogy was then traced and it was found that he was the descendant of the pure Kshatriya family of Shisodé which had come from the country to the north and settled in the south; and as the Kshatrias of the north were allowed the rite of using the sacred thread, Gàgàjibhat bestowed it upon the king and thus made him a pure Kshatriya. On this occasion large sums were given away in charity. Brahmins well versed in the Vedas came from their own country and from the territory of the Monguls. All of them were invited to stay; sumptuous dinners were given to them. A golden throne weighing 32 Maunds was made and inlaid with the choicest and most precious jewels that could be procured from distant countries. The fort of Rairi where the throne was placed was named "Rayagad". Then on a propitious day which was the 13th of the lunar frotnight of jeshta in the Shálivân year 1596 known as the "Anand" Sawatsar the king performed his ablutions and ceremoniously bathed and having worshipped Shri Màhàdéva, Bhawàni, Balambhat the son of his household priest Bhaskarbhat and other illustrious and sacred personages with offerings of ornaments and clothes, bowed to them and mounted the throne. The eight ministers and illustrious Brahmins then coronated him by sprinkling over his head the sacred waters brought by them from different sacred places and filled in

golden jugs. The king had put on a costly dress and precious jewels and repeatedly bowed to all the sacred and revered personages. Lotus flowers made of gold and set with precious jewels and a variety of flowers made of gold, and clothes were distributed in large numbers. The sixteen great † gifts were also given away. The throne was adorned with eight pillars decked with jewels. The eight ministers stood by them. All the ceremonies and rites prescribed by the Shàstras and perform-

† The sixteen great gifts were:—

1. A human image made of gold,
2. A golden image of Brahmadéva.
3. A golden representation of Brahma's egg, representing the universe:
4. An image of "Kalp" tree.
5. Gift of a thousand cows.
6. A golden image of the cow called "Kámdhènù".
7. A golden horse.
8. A golden horse and chariot.
9. Gift of five ploughs.
10. Gift of land or of money to purchase land.
11. A golden coil representing the sphere or system of the universe.
12. A golden creeper with its stem, leaves and tendrils.
13. Gift of the seven seas; i. e. of a quantity of each of the seven substances respectively composing them vizt:- milk, curds, ghee, honey &ca.
14. A cow made of a gem.
15. A golden pot.
16. An elephant or its value.

ed on the occasion of the coronation of illustrious monarch that flourished in the Krit, Trétà, Dwápàr and Kal ages were observed. on this occasion. The eight Ministers that stood by the eight pillars of the throne were as named below:—

1. Moro Trimbak who was styled the Chief Minister.
2. Nàro Nilkant and Rámchandra Nilkant Muzumdars who were styled "Amatya" meaning Counsellor.
3. Annáji Dattú Surnis who was styled "Sachew'
4. Dattàji Trimbak Waknis who was styled "Mantri".
5. Rámchandrapant the son of Trimbak Sonedèwa Dabir who was styled "Súmant".
6. Neeraji Rowji styled "Nyayadheesh'.
7. The son of Raghúnathpant Panditrao who was styled "Danadhyaksha".
8. Hambeerrao Surnobat who was styled "Sènapati".

The eight ministers had these eight Sanscrit surnames assigned to them. Bàl Prabhù Chitnis and Nil Prabhú Karkuns and high functionaries stood in their respective places. A parasol adorned with jewels and fringes of pearl was held over the king. The appellation of "Chhátrapati" was then assumed by him, and in correspondence and other transactions an era established by him came to be used since the date of his coronation. Since that day beggars, Brahmins, ascetics, recluses, mendicants, Jogis and Jungums who had all assembled were given for four months rich dinners and grain. When they were allowed to take their departure, they were presented with money, ornaments and clothes according to their deserts. Gagabhat especially received immense treasure and

costly presents. The whole expenditure on account of this coronation ceremony amounted to one crore and fortytwo thousand Hones. The eight ministers received a lac of Hones each, besides one elephant, horse, clothes and ornaments. Thus ended the coronation ceremony. Hitherto the Monguls and other foreigners ruled over the earth as Emperors, but now this was the first Maràthá king that assumed the dignity of Emperor, an event of no ordinary importance.

74. The intelligence of these occurrences reached Bahàdúrkhan Kokà. He marched as far as the shores of the Bheemà and encamped there. He thence wrote to the Emperor at Delhi informing him of the coronation. The Emperor descended his throne and retired to his bedroom where placing both hands on the ground and naming his gods, he gave vent to sorrow. For two days he did not touch food or water. He said—"The Lord God has deprived the Musulmans of their Imperial dignity and throne and made theme over to the Maràthás. This is a climax of our miseries." Thus he was afflicted with great sorrow. The Viziers and high functionaries consoled him in several ways and with oaths and solemn pledges induced him to occupy the throne. The Emperors of Beejàpùr and Bhaganuggar also received the intelligence of the king's coronation with sorrow, so also the Emperors of the *Rùmshàm, †Iran, §Dùran and of the seas were grieved at heart when this intelligence reached them.

75. The king then devoted his attention to

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*Constantinople. †Persia. §Tartary.

the affairs of his internal administration. The territory under the Nizamshahi Government was overrun and that under the Mongul Government was confiscated. The Emperor of Bhaganaggar made peace with the king and detained with him Pralhádpant the intelligent son of Niràjipant as his envoy He paid the king tribute and thus made him his friend and ally. Several other minor states were captured; others paid tributes and became the king's subjects. The king then intended to capture the Carnatic territory lying between the rivers Tùngbhadrà and Kàvèri. He resolved to go in person as he thought that if he entrusted the task to his army, a longer time would elapse. He was however afraid that Bahàdúrkhan who was stationed at the village of Godad might harass his territory in his absence. With the view therefore of seducing him into an alliance for one year, which period he considered sufficient for the conquest of the Carnatic, he sent Nirajipant Nyáyàdheesh to him with a present of treasure, ornaments and precious jewels to request him not to molest his territory during his absence. With a choice army composed of 25,000 horsemen and with Sirkarkuns Raghúnath Narayan and Janardan Narayan who were familiar with the Carnatic territory he started. Moropant Peishwa, the Surnis, Wáknis and other forces were kept for the defence of the country. He then began to consider the best means of raisnig funds for the invasion of the Carnatic as it was his intention not to touch his treasury for this purpose. There was no doubt, he thought, immense treasure in the Bhágànuggar State, but then as that State paid an annual tribute, any harsh measure adopted to raise funds from that quarter would not be justifiable; it was there-

fore better to form friendship with the Emperor of that State who would do all the needful. Accordingly he wrote to Pralhàdpant the envoy in the Bhágánaggar Court informing him of his intention to have an interview with the Emperor. Emperor Tánshàhà to whom Pralhàdpant communicated the contents of the letter became apprehensive. He said:-"There is no use having an interview with the king. He treacherously killed Afzúlkhàn, defeated Shástèkhàn, went to Delhi and browbeat Alimgeer the Emperor there. What shall I do if he treats me similarly and if anything unpleasant occurs? I am rather prepared to grant him whatever he demands." Pralhàdpant with solemn oaths and pledges assured the Emperor, Anknàjipant and Màndnápant his ministers, of the king's good intentions and convinced them that there was no harm if the interview was granted which he said, the king sought as a friend of the Emperor.

76. Pralhàdpant informed the king accordingly. The interview was arranged. The king then with his army advanced towards Bhàgánaggar, and by forced marches arrived within its precincts. Here he issued instructions to his army not to touch even the most insignificant thing belonging to the subjects of that Government; some had to pay with their heads for transgression. Whatever things were required were purchased from the Bazár. When the Emperor learnt that the king's forces entered the precincts of his Government without making any depredations, he was much pleased and he resolved to walk a few villages ahead to receive the king. The king who was a great politician sent him a mes-

sage on oath to desist from so doing saying that the Emperor was his elder brother and he his younger. This message pleased the Emperor much. Màndnápant and Anknápant came forward and led the king into the town. While entering the town, the king's forces were all dressed in rich garments. It was on an auspicious day that he entered the town for the Emperor's interview. The town-streets were all sprinkled over with saffron water and adorned with flower garlands; banners and flags waved to and fro. The townspeople stood by millions to have a glimpse of the king. Platters containing burning lamps were waved by the women in the town in the king's face to whom they bowed. Gold and silver flowers were sprinkled over the king. The king gave the townspeople in return immense treasure and clothes, and arrived at the Emperor's palace with his army and sent him a message on oath not to descend as he himself was coming upstairs. The Emperor accordingly remained in his palace. The king stationed his men well armed below, and ascended the flight of steps leading to the palace. The king was accompanied by Janàrdanpant, Pralhàdpant, Sonàji Naik and Bàji Dhásrè. He entered the palace; the Emperor came forward to meet him; both embraced each other and then took a seat. There were in the palace Mándanàpant, Anknàpant, Janàrdanpant, Pralhádpant, Sonáji Naik and Bàji Dhàsré besides the king and the Emperor. Màndanápant took his seat, the others were all standing. The king and the Emperor were best friends; they therefore talked a great deal on a variety of topics. The wives of the Emperor were struck with astonishment when they beheld the king from behind

the curtains. The Emperor was also pleased. For three hours he listened to the king who narrated to him his own exploits. After presenting several ornaments decked with jewels, clothes, elephants and horses to the king, and clothes to his attendants he gave them leave to depart. The Emperor escorted the king as far as the bottom of the flight of steps leading to the palace and then they separated. The king then with Raghúnath Narayan Dabir, Hambeerrao and other Sirdars whom he had stationed below, and with his army returned to his quarters. On his way back he distributed coins to the townspeople. After the king's departure the Emperor was satisfied. He said:—"The king is honest, he adhered to his words and deeds." He praised Pralhadpant for his honesty and gave him several presents and sent him to the king. The next day Mandnapant invited the king to an entertainment at his house. The dinner was prepared by Mandnapant's mother. The king, Mandnapant and Anknapant dined and after presents of ornaments, clothes, elephants and horses the king was allowed to return to his quarters. The renowned Sirdars under the Bhaganaggar Government similarly entertained the king. One full month thus passed away in the Bhaganaggar territory. The Emperor called to him Mandanapant and ordered him to give the king whatever he required and thus send him pleased. Then on an auspicious day he invited the king to an interview. He presented him with immense treasure, ornaments inlaid with precious stones and jewels, innumerable elephants and horses. While the king and the Emperor sat on the throne they received the salutes of all the Sirkarkúns, Hambeerrao and other Sirdars,

the Emperor presenting them all with ornaments, clothes, elephants and horses according to their deserts. The Emperor then said:—"I expect you to be useful to me on every occasion. The tribute payable every year will be so paid." The king then with oaths promised his cooperation and he was allowed to take his departure; the Emperor observing that Pralhadpant might always be detained by the king at his court, as his (Emperor's) representative and envoy. The king then returned to his quarters.

77. He thence led his army towards Chandi taking with him all the presents received in the Bhaganaggar State. He reached the sacred shrine of Shree Shayalya. He bathed in the waters of the river Neelganga and offered his devotions at the shrine. The king was charmed with the delightful scenery. He compared it to * Kylas, so pleasant it appeared to him. He thought of offering his body and head in sacrifice at the shrine. At this thought Shri Bhawani appeared in him and said:—"If you do this, you will forfeit salvation. Do not therefore do it. I have several exploits to be accomplished by your hands." So saying the goddess disappeared. When the king came to consciousness, these words of the goddess were communicated to him by the karkùns. The king then abandoned the idea of self-sacrifice.

78. He then proceeded to conquer the Carnatic and with this view laid siege to Chandi.

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* The paradise of the God Shiva.

Rúpulkhan and Nasrikhan the sons of Khánkhan the Beejàpúr Vizier, who were in Chandi were promised protection, brought over to the king's cause and permitted to leave the place. After their departure Chandi was taken. Shèrkhan another Beejapur Vizier and a valiant soldier had encamped near Trimali Mahal with 5,000 Cavalry, elephants and immense treasure. He attacked the king, and in the battle that ensued his forces were completely routed and he himself was captured. 5,000 horses and 12 elephants were killed. Immense treasure fell into the hands of the king. Thus was Trimal Mahal captured.

79. King Vyankaji the younger brother of Shivàji was then reigning at Chandi or (Chandore). He sent his kárkùn Mahádpant Pingalé, Konhèr Mahádèva Jamádàr and Jagannáthpant to the king to have an interview with him. The king received them with the greatest honors. They related to him everything concerning Chandore. The king then presented them with jewels and horses and permitted them to take their departure. After their return they narrated to king Vyankàji all that had occurred at the interview with the king. The king then thought of seeing his brother, when Vyankàji accompanied by the three persons whom he had sent before and by Bheewàji and Pratáprao arrived. The brothers mèt. There was great rejoicing. They were together in one place for eight days. The king then addressed Vyankàji in the following terms:— "Since I obtained our sire's leave and proceeded to Poona I acquired a large kingdom. I am the eldest of us all and have achieved splendid exploits. I therefore expect you to hand over

to me the twelve strings used as badges by our sire which are in your possession. It is not impossible to make new ones for myself, but as they were once used by our sire, it is but fair that I should use them." Vyankàji persisted in his refusal. His officers and kàrkùns pointed out to him that in refusing he had not acted prudently as the king was sure to take the badges by force of his arms. This terrified Vyankáji who in consequence ran away at night with the badges.

80. The next day the king learnt of Vyankàji's flight. He was surprised and said:—"What have I to do with those badges.? Of what avail are they when my fame is already spread everywhere over the sea-girt earth. The eight directions know it. As they were used by my sire I longed to have them. If my brother wanted not to part with them, he ought to have done so. Why should he have thus run away.? Younger as he is he has given proof of an understanding worthy of his age." The king's men found some of Vyankàji's kárkúns and sirdàrs who were running, and brought them to the king who gave them all presents of clothes, ornaments and horses and sent them to his brother at Chandore. King Santáji a bastard son of the Mahàrájà (Shàhàji) then came to see the king. They both met. Santáji was presented with a thousand horse in the Carnatic and was granted allowances in land and money. Then after presents of elephants, horses, clothes and ornaments Santàji took his departure. He was allowed to remain in the Carnatic with an army.

81. At this time there was a station of the

Adilshahi Government in the fort of Bengalore. This fort had no equal in the world. The water in the ditches around the ramparts was unfathomably deep and was the abode of from 10 to 12,000 alligators. The platforms behind the battlements were so broad that two carriages could be driven on them in one line. The outer walls of the fort were so strong that they could resist the canon-ball. The king laid siege to this fort and captured it; he took several other forts, built new ones and conquered a territory yielding twelve lacs of Hones. He also took the fort of Chandi which was not an insignificant place but the seat of an empire as powerful as those of Beejàpùr and Bhàgànaggar. The king should have made that place the seat of his Government but as he had to look after the preservation of his principal conquests, he appointed Raghùnàth Náráyan as Muzumdàr and stationed him at Chandi with a force under Hambeerrao Sirnobat. The king then took with him Anandrao and Manaji Morè who had their armies at Chandi, and proceeded up the Ghauts, took the forts of Kolhar and Balapúr, ravaged the country, built two or three new forts and having conquered Palègad appointed karkùn Rango Narayan as Sirsùbhédar and made over this territory also to the management of Raghúnath Narayan. He stationed Manaji Morè with his army in the Kolhar territory and having taken Anandrao with him proceeded to Kopal and thence to Lakshaméshwar and having captured the fort there punished Khan Goda Dèsai. The king having learnt that the Dèsai now and then ravaged the Kolhar territory had already deputed Niloji with a large army to overthrow him; and Niloji accordingly having en-

countered him at Mùrbè had totally defeated him. The king then returned to the fort of Panhállà. Niràjipant who was left with Bahàdúrkhàn as the king's representative returned with presents of clothes from the Kháu to the king and had an interview with him.

82. King Vyankàji having learnt that Hambeerrao Sirnobat and Raghúnàth Nàràyan Muzumdár were stationed in the Carnatic, took his forces with him and attacked Hambeerrao. Hambeerrao having arranged his army in battle array encountered king Vyankàji. A bloody battle ensued. By virtue of the king's righteous deeds Hambeerrao defeated him; 4,000 of his horses were killed and twenty to twenty-five elephants fell as also Bhewji Rájè, Pratàpji Ràjé and ten to twenty other valiant leaders. Immense treasure fell into the hands of Hambeerrao. Those leaders who were captured alive were presented with clothes and coin and ordered to depart. Raghùnáthpant and Hambeerrao then proceeded with their armies to Chandore. King Vyankàji then interposed a rich man for negociating peace. The generals communicated the facts to their sovereign master. The king sent them the following reply:—"As Vyankàji is a younger brother (of mine) I consider it necessary that he should be protected. You should therefore make peace with him, and not mind what he says as he is but an urchin."

83. The leaders then made peace with king Vyankaji. Hambeerrao departed with his army while Raghùnathpant with 10 to 12,000 horsemen and infantry remained in the Carnatic for

its defence. Hambeerrao after his arrival saw the king who received him with great honors and rewarded his deserving followers. The king then with his whole army laid siege to Jálnápùr, pillaged the town and took the Fouzdàr of that place captive. Treasure, gold, silver, jewels, cloth, elephants, camels and horses were seized. Rustumkhán the Mongul leader now attacked the king; Sindoji Nimbàlkar the leader of 5,000 men of the king's army fought with him for three days. Rustumkhán was taken captive. In the meanwhile a reinforcement of 20,000 men under their leader Kèsrisingh and other Oomrows came to his assistance. Késrisingh secretly sent a message to the king informing him that if he intended to fight with Rustumkhàn, he might do so but desiring him at the same time to march off so long as he (Kèsrisingh) had not encountered him. After receipt of this message the king left with his army which, it was arranged, was to go from behind the Jadgiri mountain. At this time Bahirji a messenger of the king came forward saying that he would take the army to their place in safety without encountering the Mongul leader, and asking the king not to be in anxiety on that account. For three successive days and nights he did not misspend a single moment and at last brought the army in safety to Powgad. The king was pleased with him. All the booty he possessed was granted to him and other rewards were also given to him. The king then leisurely led the army to Púrandhar.

84. Sambhàji Ràjà the son of king Shivàji had now fallen out with his father. He went

over to the Mongul territory and saw Dilèl-khán who was encamped at Jowda. Dilèlkhàn received him with great honors and informed the Emperor at Delhi accordingly suggesting that the Emperor might shower praises upon him so that he would be instrumental in creating dissensions and factions in his father's government whereby the king's forces would come over to his cause, and the forts and strongholds would also be gained. The Emperor however thought otherwise. He said that if he praised the king's son, it was possible that one day or the other his own son the Shahàjàdá and the king's son might make common cause, seduce his men and rebel against him. He therefore resolved not to praise him but to have him brought before him and kept in confinement. Accordingly he wrote to Dilélkhàn asking him to come over to him with Sambhàji Rájá. Dilèlkhàn's envoy who was at the Emperor's Court gave him previous intimation of the contents of this letter and Dilèl-khán gave secret information to Sambhàji Rájà of the Emperor's plans and hinted to him that he should have recourse to flight. Sambhàji Rájà accordingly ran away from him and arrived at the fort of Panhallá. The intelligence of his son's return reached the king. He was overjoyed and came to Panhallà to see him. The father and the son met; there was joy. The king then addressed his son in the following terms:—

> " My son, do not abandon me. Aurangzebe is my enemy; he should certainly have made you the victim of his rage, but thanks to Shri Bhawàni, by her blessings you have returned safe. You are the elder of my sons. I know it is your desire to possess an in-

dependent kingdom and to exercise sovereign sway over it; and it is incumbent upon me also to see that you have one. You know I have two sons, one yourself and the other Rájaram. You know also that I have two kingdoms, one that of Chandi which extends from the river Túngbhadra to the river Kàvèri, and the other which extends from the river Godàveri to as far as near Tùngbhadra. As you are the elder of my sons, I give you the Carnatic, the other I make over to Rajaram. Thus both of you will rule over two independent kingdoms; and as my age is now fast advancing, I prefer spending my days in devout prayers to Shri Bhawani."

Sambhaji Raja then made the following reply:—

"Sire, I have no desire for a kingdom; I value your affection more. I shall subsist gladly on milk and rice and serve you. This alone is the ambition of my life."

This reply pleased the king. The father and the son then busied themselves in computing and ascertaining the area of the Carnatic, the amount of treasure, the number and names of karkùns and sirkarkùns, the number of the army, horses, silèdars, sirdars, forts, strongholds, ships of war and of men on the forts and found that all these were as follow:—

—18 Karkhanas.—

1. Treasury.	3. Corn-depot.
2. Wardrobe.	4. Place for elephants.

* An office or place where business is carried on.

5. Granary.
6. Room in which carpets are kept.
7. Kitchen.
8. The place in which are kept the drums and other instruments of a band.
9. The apartment appropriated to Sherbet making.
10. Place in which wild beasts and birds, game, animals and apparatus of the chace are kept.
11. Gymnasium or Palæstra.
12. Gunpowder magazine.
13 The place where camels are tied up.
14. The place where elephants are tied or kept.
15 The place in which records and registers are deposited.
16 The aviary.
17. The hall.
18. Outhouse or place for water for the Royal use.

—*12 Mahals—

1. Treasury bags.
2. Building where horses are kept.
3. Store-room.
4. Tailor's room.
5. Exchange room.
6. Building materials.
7. Stock of arrows.
8. Chariots, carriages&ca.
9. Cows, buffaloes and cattle of the State.
10 Place for retirement.
11 Place for palanquin.
12. Place for airing

Treasure consisting of Gold and Silver coin & cloth

Gold Coin

Ten Lacs Guburs
Twenty Lacs Mohurs
Two Lacs Dharwádi Hone
Fifteen Lacs & nine Ka-

* Wealth, goods, effects and property of any description.

wèr Hones
Ten Lacs Satlamya
Two Lacs sixty-four thousand and thirty Achútrai Hones
Fifty thousand Jadi Hone
Three Lacs Adwani Hone
One Lac Gùtee Hones
Ten Lacs Ingots of gold weighing 12½ Candies
1½ Lac Tádpatri Hones
Three-thousand Pùtli.
Four Lacs Shivrai Hones
Three Lacs four-hundred and fifty Dèwrai Hones
Two Lacs Pralayagad Hones
Three Lacs ninety-nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine * Fullum

Silver Coin

Ten Lacs Chúli Kabri
Fifty-thousand Dharwadi and Hookèri
Five Lacs Rupees
One Lac Rials
Twenty five Lacs Dábholi small
Twenty five Lacs and five hundred Chandramè
One Lac fifty thousand & nine Nishání Hones
Twenty Lacs Asrufé
Fifty Lacs Basri Kabri
10,00,000 Silver and silver utensils weighing 50 Candies

Cloth

Embroidered, plain and colored cloth of various countries of the value of 10,00,000 Hones

The Fullum Hones comprised of the following varieties:—

Afurgi	Mahomedshai	Chandàwari
Bheewarkati	Yékéri	Bilamdhari
Triwàlúri	Déwjowli	Oolsuri
Surjàrám	Ràmmahipùri	Oodgoli

* This coin is less than a Pútli, valuing about 3 Rupees.

Horsemen and Silèdàrs numbering 1,05,000. The following were the names of the leaders of the 45,000 Pagas:—

1. Hambeerrao Surnobat
2. Anandrao Hazari
3. Nétaji Palkar
4. Manaji Morè
5. Rùpaji Bhoslé
6. Gondji Jugtup
7. Suntoji Jugtup
8. Khundoji Jugtup
9. Dhanaji Jadow
10. Jétaji Katkar
11. Dadji Kalekad
12. Janoji Katé
13. Suntaji Ghorepadé
14. Télungrao
15. Túkoji Nimbalkar
16. Vyankaji Khandkar
17. Sumbhaji Yèkrao
18. Sumbhaji Humbirrao
19. Nimbaji Patolé
20. Dadji Powar
21. Shamakhan
22. Pursaji Bhoselè
23. Wagoji Sirkè
24. Kristnaji Gutgé
25. Manoji Nimbalkar
26. Cristnaji Powar
27. Duttoji Moro
28. Muhiméji Wicharé

The following is the list of Silédars:—

1. Nàgoji Ballal
2. Raghoji Ballal
3. Sunkroji Ràm
4. Chandroji Bahirdéw
5. Hambeerji Ghorepadè
6. Ràmàji Janàrdan
7. Ràmaji Bhasker
8. Hurbaji
9. Kristnaji Jowdéw
10. Balji Nilkanth
11. Gunèsh Túkdéw
12. Chundogee Narayan
13. Trimbak Vithul
14. Gunèsh Shewdèw
15. Mahadagee Narayan
16. Janrow Waghmarè
17. Bulwuntrow
18. Amraji Pansùré
19. Janáji Sindè
20. Bàloji Thorat
21. Ràmàji Guddé
22. Déwji Ooghdé
23. Hambeerji Dandgad
24. Hambraji Shélké
25. Kèroji Powar
26. Sadapúrnè
27. Oochlè
28. Khundogee Bowlè
29. Pursogee Sitolé
30. Gunoogee Sitolè

31. Bagee Nulgé
32. Mayaji Nulgé
33. Manoji Nulgè
34. Withbaji Lèlé
35. Janagee Sawut

The following is the list of the leaders of 1,00,000 Mowlee Sirdars:—

Yesgee Kank surnobat
Sooryagee Malsoora
Gunoogee Hurkore
Bheewa Dulvi
Kondgee Wudgham
Yesgee Hurkore
Baloogee Hurkore
Sone Sowli
Changee Cudoo
Coodalkar
Trimbukgee Prabhoo
Kondgee Furjund
Moodhoji Chowdekar
Tanagee Sellar
Duryagee Sukhulkar
Pillagee Sulgey
Jowgee Parwey
Moodhagee Brahmin
Mal sawut
Withoogee Kudoo
Indragee Gurwadi
Jowji Mudne
Nagogee Furgund
Tansawat Mowley
Malgee Furgund
Dhowle
Tanagee Yeshwant
Tanagee Purkare
Ram Salvi
Tansawut
Crishnagee Bhosely
Mudhle
Hiroogee Maratha
Pámagee Morey
Hiroogee Bhaganuggur
Toolagee Cudoo
Timagee Bhanga
(37)—Total

The following is the list of Commanders in the king's fleet.

1. Duryasawut Sagur
2. Maya Naik
3. Ibrahamkhan

The number of elephants was 1260.

The following is the list of hill-forts, strongholds

and those built in the sea, belonging to the Adil-shahi & Nizam-shahi Governments captured by Shivaji:—

1. Kondhane (or) † Shinvagad
2. Poorandhurgad
3. Rohidgad
4. Rayagud
5. Lohegad
6. Kote Fond
7. Kote Wishwàshewesh-war
8. Kote Kedar
9. Kote Akoli
10. Kote Mugroom
11. Kote Coodal
12. Punallagad
13. Cudusrigad
14. Bahavalgad
15. Gadagad
16. Deogud
17. Itkagad
18. Pudamgad
19. Sonegad
20. Soodharakgad
21. Mrigandhinkadgad
22. Khambeeragad
23. Colaba Jansira
24. Mandupgad
25. Samángad
26. Cutheengad
27. Tikonagad
28. Curdungad
29. Kholegad
30 Sindigad
31. Cothoorgad
32. Roodramálgad
33. Mungulgad
34. Cothulgad
35. Dhalgad
36. Sheewardhangad
37. Muddongad
38 Wirgad Ghosàlá
39. Pandowgad
40. Chestangad
41. Wadangad
42. Calyangad
43. Sataragad
44. Soomargad
45. Rasàlgad
46 Wishalgad
47. Sajangad
48. Tàthodágad
49. Rangnagad (or) Prasidh gad
50. Manohargad
51. Supèkote

† "Gad" means a hill fort. "Cote" means a fort built on the plain & "Jangeera" means a fort built in the sea.

52. Hullyal kote
53. Kim kote
54. Krishnagir kote
55. Yelburga kote
56. Saleri fort
57. Mhuhogad.
58. Salotragad
59. Ahiwantgad
60. Achulgiri
61. Jowlagad.
62. Trimbuk (or)Shreegad
63. Husha (or)Bhoorghargad
64. Neewardhangad
65. Chowri (or) Prassangad
66. Bhoorsur (or) Parwatgad
67. Mawooligad
68. Sidhágad
69. Coredigad
70. Bhorup (or) Soodhagad
71. Coortoo (or) Murdangad
72. Ghuncad
73. Pali (or) Sarasgad
74. Masidgad (or) Salégad
75. Soodhagad

In the Colehar & Balapoor Territory above the Ghauts.

76. Kalèhar Kote
77. Nandigad
78. Chundargal
79. Mhahigad
80. Guneshgad
81. Shreewardl angad
82. Waugad
83. Tawàlgad
84. Binduoorgad
85. Bhaskergad
86. Prakashgad
87. Reemdoorgad
88. Kolehar Kotenaik
89. Mrithunagad
90. Bheemgad
91. Sarasgad
92. Abajirayadoorg
93. Konargad
94. Makarandgad
95. Thawoordkote
96. Boodimkote
97. Someshantgad
98. Hátmalgad
99. Bhoomundupgad
100. Manik kote
101. Munmulhár Cote
102. Mahipálgad
103. Ramgiri

In the Shrirangpatan Territory.

104. Dharmapuri kote
105. Telgiri kote
106. Lalangad
107. Soondurgad
108. Mahimgad
109. Garood kote
110. Tulàgad
111. Ranpur Cote
112. Rangangad
113. Pramodegad
114. Bithnoor kote
115. Manohargad
116 Trichnapur kote
117. Kote Shamul
118. Bhowanidoolgad
119. Moojanuri kote
120. Welirad kote
121. Dharampur kote
122. Ambrehur kote
123. Wamnoor
124. Kote Koosnoor
125. Yeshwantgad
126. Downapatan kote
127. Pàl kote
128. Chamwar kote
129. Whawachi kote

In the Carnatic—62. Forts. (names not mentioned)

The following is the list of those established by the king:—

In the Concan.

1. Ràyagad.
2. Kélna.
3. Torenà (or) Prachandgad
4. Wiràtgad
5. Kamalgad
6. Rájhounsegad.
7. Bàlákote.
8. Kothàrgad.
9. Kankàdrigad
10. Márkandgad
11. Ràwangad.
12. Kanèràgad.
13. Proudhgad
14. Wangad
15. Mahomedgad
16. Ràmdúrg (or) Bhùjbulgad.
17. Nawalgùnd.
18. Shrimantgad
19. Gajèndragad.
20. Sawàlgad.
21. Machatragad.
22. Kánchangad.
23. Rámséjgad.
24. Péhérgad.

25. Bhaskergad.
26. Bojebàgad.
27. Nàdàngad.
28. Mahikhárgad.
29. Ràngad.
30. Harischandragad.
31. Kalyangad.
32. Súmangad.
33. Sirgagad.
34. Shèwálgad.
35. Mahitalgad
36. Mitragad
37. Kohingad
38. Bulwantgad
39. Vyankatgad
40. Pralhadgad
41. Wurudhagad
42. Pratàpgad
43. Congari (or) Mungulgad
44. Námarandgad
45. Wosadgad
46. Bahirowgad
47. Prachitgad
48. Mahipatgad
49. Gugungad
50. Soowarndoorgad Junjira
51. Raj Cote
52. Ratnágiri Janjeera.
54. Bálàrájà.
55. Anjunwèli.
56. Muttgad.
57. Wasantgad.
58. Sùndargad.
59. Moregiri.
60. Warùdgad.
61. Mahimángad.
62. Bhùshangad
63. Bhoopalgad
64. Machendragad
65. Pawangad
66. Pàrgad
67. Bheemgad
68. Seedhagad.
69. Chandragad
70. Samangad
71. Wallabhgad
72. Kámuidhigad
73. Gandharwagad.
74. Mungulgad.
75. Manikgad.
76. Kunolagad.
77. Sarunggad.
78. Putakagad
79. Nadgiri

Below the Ghauts.

80. Jagdèvagad.
81. Kuwulgad
82. Gagangad
83. Sùdarshangad
84. Maharajgad
85. Krishnagirigad
86. Ramangad
87. Sidhigad
88. Mulmarjúngad
89. Nawadigad

90. Custooricad
91. Rancad
92. Pralhadcad
93. Martandcad Jangeera
94. Dirgahalidoorg
95. Baluroncad
96 Sooleymulkote
97. Mungalgad
98. Ramcad

In the Verool Territory.

99. Kote Verool
100. Sajra Kote
101. Gojera Kote
102. Lokascad
103. Prancad
104. Mahimandancad
105. Joonurcad
106. Argoongad
107. Deogad
108. ArgoonKote
109. Carnaticcad
110. Arbhukutkote
111. Padwijoogad.
112. Rasalgad.
113. Trimulcad
114. Gujelgad.
115. Trimali kote
116. Lahangad
117. Rajgad
118. Chedangad
119. Cristnagiri
120. Mudonmutgad
121. Awsoor kote
122. Càm kote
123. Sircad.
124. Moodhagad
125. Wallakhshagad
126. Triwardhi kote

85. It was thus ascertained that the king's possessions extended from the fort of Salèri to the whole territory lying on this side of the Godaveri, and over the Ghauts as far as the Túngbhadra on one side, as also from beyond the Tungbhadra to Colhar, Balapoor, Chandi, Vèrool as far as the Cavéri on the other. The king desired his son Sambhaji to remain at the fort of Panhalla and left with him Janardanpant Sirkarkun and Somaji Naik. The king then asked him to excuse his short absence saying that he was going to Rayagad to arrange for the performance of his younger son Rajaram's marriage and after return would soon

take in hand the important subject of administration of these possessions. Then turning to Sambhaji he again said " As you are the elder, I expect a discreet policy on your part". The king then started for Rayagad. The daughter of Prataprao the late Commander was selected as a bride for Rájàrám. The marriage was performed with great ostentation attended by a distribution of immense sums in charity. The bride was named Jànkibài.

86. Soon after this the king had a sharp attack of fever. He was a righteous personage, and possessed a foreknowledge of the time of dissolution. He thought to himself that his end was approaching and therefore summoned to him the wisest of his kárkùns and servants of whose names the following is the list:—

Kàrkùns.

1. Nilkanth Morèshwar Pradhàn.
2. Pralhádpant.
3. Gungàdhar Janárdan.
4. Ràmchandra Nilkanth.
5. Rowji Somenáth.
6. Abàji Mahadèva.
7. Joteerow,
8. Bàl Prabhú Chitnis.

Servants.

1. Hiroji Farjand,
2. Bàbàji Gádgá.
3. Bàji Kudum.
4. Mùdhoji Surkhawás.
5. Sùryáji Kadasrè.
6. Mahàdáji Naik.

He said to them that the period of his existence was now drawing to its close and that he was going to see the Goddess and reside in the Paradise of Shiva. The king further said:—

" With regard to my sons I must say when

I perceived that I was growing feeble, I told Sambhàji my elder son at Panhàlla that I was desirous of distributing my kingdom among my two sons. Sambhàji did not like my proposal. My end is now approaching. From my original possession of the Mahàl of Poona which was worth 40,000 Hones, I have now raised my acquisitions so as to be worth one Crore of Hones. I also acquired these forts, strongholds, Pagas and the army. If Rajaram lives long after my death he alone will preserve and enlarge this vast kingdom. Sambhaji the elder is sensible but of loose and dissolute habits, and I do not know how to act under the circumstances especially as my end is now drawing nearer. You are old and experienced karkúns and servants in this kingdom of the Marathas and you must therefore have already been familiar with this state of things. After my death Sambhaji by means of his exploits will usurp everything to himself. He being the elder, the army will give him credit for the fact and will flock to his standard. Rajaram being the younger, the army will not care to win his favors. The Sirkarkuns will advocate the cause of Rajaram and urge the necessity of dividing the kingdom amongst the two brothers. The Marathas in the army will not agree with the karkuns. They will play foul with the Sirkarkuns. Sambhaji will put to the sword the eminent Brahmins of my time; there will thus be sins of Brahmin-slaughter; he will next raise his hands on the Marathas and the Sirdars in the army, and degrade or even kill them. The mean and

the insignificant will prevail. The respectable will dwindle into insignificance. Sambhaji will indulge in intoxicating drugs and in amorous pleasures. In the forts, strongholds and throughout the kingdom there will be injustice and offences. Sambhaji will not respect the worthy. He will squander away all the wealth and treasure. Aurangzebe so soon as he learns of Sambhaji's weakness and the disorder into which the kingdom must fall will make an invasion and capture Beejapur, Bhaganuggur and even this kingdom. Ultimately Sambhaji will be ruined. Just as † Fattékhàn turned disloyal to his father Malikamber Nizamshaha and treacherously deprived him of his kingdom and ultimately lost it, so will Sambhaji lose my kingdom. Rajaram will then succeed to the throne and will reconquer the lost kingdom and restore order. He will perform deeds more chivalrous than mine. Now with regard to the karkuns, the eminent Sirkarkuns of my time Sambhaji will not allow to see the light of the day. Pralhadpant and Ramchandra Nilkanth will however be illustrious. Nilopant also will be popular. There will be a few others similarly illustrious but these will be very few. Of the Marathas, Sambhaji will extirpate many. Of those that remain, Santaji Ghorepadè, Bahirji Ghorepadé and

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† Malikamber preserved for many years the kingdom of Ahmednuggur from the invasions of the Mongul but his son Fattékhán killed him and ultimately made it over to the Monguls.

Dhanaji Jadhow will, if they live, perform chivalrous deeds. These three Brahmins and Marathas will prove serviceable in recovering the lost kingdom."

87. Thus spoke the king. After he had concluded all the attendants being oppressed with grief stood in silence and tears began to run down their cheeks. The king perceiving this again said:—"Be not sorry; this is but a mortal world. As many as came to life perished. Calm your emotions and be of pure hearts and in peace and happiness. Now sit ye out as I am holding communion with the Goddess." The attendants accordingly sat out. The king then bathed in the sacred water of the Bhagirthi, rubbed ashes to his body, put on a necklace of *Rudràksha and having composed himself to abstract spiritual devotion, was lost in solemn communion. He expired at Rayagad in the afternoon of Sunday the † 15th of the lunar fortnight of Chaitra in the Shaliwahan year 1602 Roudra Savatsar. The angels of Shiva brought a chariot of the God in which his spirit was taken to Kylas, the perishable portion of himself vizt the body, being left in this mortal world.

88. On the day of the king's demise there were an earthquake, the rising of a comet, the falling off of stars & a pair of rainbows at night in the heavenly firmament; everywhere there was mist; the people at Shrishambhu Mahadeo were frighten-

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* The berry of a tree sacred to Shiva, Eleocarpus lanceolatus or ganitrus.

† Corresponding with the 5th day of April 1680.

ed. The fishes leapt out of the water. The king's body was then burnt with sandal and § Béltree wood. The obsequies were performed by the younger son Rajàram, Such was the king's life from the period of his birth to that of his death.

89. The king was no doubt an incarnation of the Deity. By his exploits he established his sway over the vast range of country extending from the Nurbudda to Shri Ràméshwar, and having harassed and overrun the territories of the Adilshahi, Nizamshahi, Kútubshahi and Mongulai Governments and kept in awe the twenty-five Emperors that reigned over the sea, established a new kingdom of his own and assumed the throne and Chhatra under the title and dignity of the first Maràthà Emperor, and ultimately having died when he was disposed to die, went to Kylas. No such hero was ever born nor will there be any in the days to come.

90. Those who hear this history read out to them will be prosperous; such of them as have no sons will be blessed with sons; the unfortunate will be fortunate, and happiness and prosperity will reign in their families from generation to generation.

FINIS.

This history was compiled by Kristna the son of Anant at Chandi and finished on the 1 st of the lunar fortnight of Chaitra of the Savatsar "Ishwar"

§ A tree sacred to Shiva, Ægle marmelos or Crateva religiosa.

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Corrigenda

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